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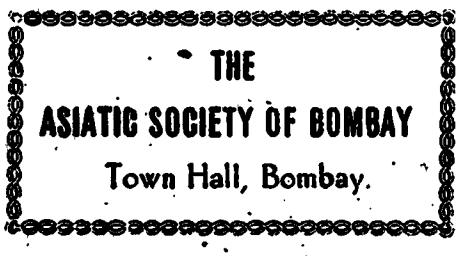

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THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND,

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIOD,

TO THE

MIDDLE OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

31976

BY

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EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR BELL & BRADFUTE, EDINBURGH;

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, & GREEN, LONDON; AND

A. BROWN & CO. ABERDEEN.

1826.

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TO

HIS MAJESTY,

KING GEORGE IV.

CHIEF OF THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF LONDON;

THE FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE,

AND THE MUNIFICENT PATRON OF LITERATURE,

ARTS, AND SCIENCES;

THIS WORK

IS HUMBLY DEDICATED,

WITH THE ROYAL PERMISSION,

BY

HIS MAJESTY'S

MOST DUTIFUL SERVANT,

AND MOST LOYAL SUBJECT,

ALEXANDER LOW.

PREFACE.

FEW events excite our curiosity more, than those which take place at a remote period. Though of little importance in themselves, they are highly useful in explaining the history of modern times, and in tracing the progress of laws, manners, and political institutions. The ancient history of the Scots has always been involved in great uncertainty, not so much from a deficiency of materials, as the great difficulty of separating truth from falsehood,—the ordinary events of the times, from the prejudice and misrepresentations of modern writers. Many of these, not satisfied with the authenticated annals of Scotland, have carried back its history to a period, when it is lost in fable.

The attention of the Writer of the following Work was directed to this subject, by an advertisement of the Highland Society of London, making offer of a premium "to the Author of the best Essay on the

"Ancient History of the Kingdom of the Gaelic "Scots, the extent of the country, its laws, population, "poetry, and learning." He was fortunate enough to gain the prize and medal of the Society. Since that time the Work has received many additions, undergone a different arrangement, and, it is hoped, is rendered more interesting and useful. The following is part of a plan, embracing the more remote ages of Scottish history, which may, perhaps, be extended at some future period.

It would be absurd, to expect that any one, upon the authority of a modern writer, should give credit to events, which took place in this country a thousand years ago. The Author of the following pages has therefore been careful to point out those sources of information, and refer to those ancient chronicles and authorities, to which we are indebted for the preservation of our history. Every doubtful authority has been rejected; and the more obscure parts of the history are illustrated, at considerable length, in the Appendix. To some this part may appear unnecessary; to others the most valuable portion of the Work; and by many it may be altogether overlooked. In various instances, he has ventured to leave the beaten track of former historians, and to represent facts in a new light. In some of these unfrequented paths, he has met

with no assistance from modern writers; but nothing has he presumed to bring forward, without the sanction of ancient authority.

This country was, in the middle ages, the nursery of learning, and the cradle of the arts and sciences; and, when the greater part of Europe was buried in superstition, and Christianity well nigh extinguished, our ancestors struggled manfully against the degeneracy of the times, and propagated learning and religion, in many nations of Europe. For these reasons, the Author has employed a considerable part of the history, in tracing the progress of learning and religion. It may, however, be necessary, to give some explanation, in regard to the arrangement adopted in this part of the Work. In ancient times, the study of religion and learning was inseparable. The latter was rendered subservient to the former, and cultivated only by the clerical orders, for the better illustration of the Sacred Writings. In treating these subjects, he has therefore viewed them in connection; and although he has not uniformly adhered to chronological order, the history is given in centuries and periods, for the purpose of marking more correctly the progress of knowledge, and the succession of events.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

BOOK I.—CHAP. I.

The obscurity of ancient history.—Its utility.—The geography of Hibernia and Britain.—The etymology of the Scots.—Their origin.—Neither from Scandinavia.—Nor Spain.—Nor the same people as the Picts.—The fabulous antiquity of the monarchy.—The authority of Seanachies and Bards.—Boece.—Veremund.—Hibernicus.—Scotia in the first century.—Colonies from Ireland.—Treaty.—Reuda.—State of Caledonia.—Constance.—Expedition against the Scots.—Arrival of some Saxons.—The Attacotti.—Dicaledones.—Vecturiones.—The inroads of the Scots in England.—In the time of Valentinian.—Theodosius.—Province of Valentia.—Roman wall.—Defeat of the Britons.—Northumbrian wall.

NOTHING is more interesting, and yet nothing is more obscure, than the history of remote ages. We look up with feeling of veneration to the period, when our ancestors followed their chief over their own mountains; when their manners were simple as they were unaffected, diver-

sified with events which at this distance of time are but faintly discernible. But the transactions of this period, though they happened many hundred years since, and are besides but few in number, are highly valuable, so far as they serve to illustrate the progress of arts and sciences, —the improvements of literature,—the gradual civilization of mankind,—the rise and fall of empires,—the constitution of a country upon which we place so great a value,—and that religion which has imparted so many blessings to the human race. An account of these particulars, as well as of many institutions which have proved of the highest importance to the civilization of the rude barbarian, is only to be found in ancient history, without which, the annals of modern times would be frequently uninstructive and obscure.

Hibernia, from whence the principal colonies of the Scots emigrated to Caledonia, was situated above Britain,[1] to the west of it;[2] and being of an oblong figure,[3] Juverna,[4] or Ierne,[5] as it was sometimes called, was more extensive in length than in breadth.[6] This island was eight thousand seven hundred stadia from Massilia, a famous nursery of learning in France;[7] its western side is said, in the time of Cæsar, to have been about eight hundred thousand paces from the Orkney islands;[8] and its extent was almost equal to that of

[1] Pomponius Mela.

[2] Cæs. de Bell. Gall.; Claudius Ptolemæus's Geograph.; Claud. de Laud. Stilichonis; Orosius; Abraham Peritsol. Itinera Mundi, c. 7. 12, a Hebrew writer; Gildas, c. 12. 19; Beda, lib. i.; Orpheus, Argonaut. vol. i. 78. It is, however, uncertain from Strabo, lib. iv. p. 192 and 201; lib. vi. 132; lib. v. p. 3; lib. ii. p. 72 and 114, whether Hibernia was north or west of Britain.

[3] Pomp. Mela. [4] Ib. [5] Claud. lib. ii. de Laud. Stilicho.

[6] Strabo, lib. iv. p. 201. [7] Strabo, lib. i. p. 63. [8] Cæs.

South Britain,[1] although scarcely more than half the size of the whole island, including Albany.[2] Caledonia, the parent country of the ancient Gaelic Scots, where the principal Irish colonies settled, was supposed to be situated between the fifty-seventh and sixty-first degree of latitude,[3] to the north of Britain. It was a mountainous country, mostly covered with wood,[4] particularly in the western parts, where the Caledonian forest was situated.[5] Its extent from north to south was supposed to be three thousand six hundred and ninety-six stadia,[6] four hundred and sixty-three Roman miles, that is, about four hundred and twenty-two English.

No part of the British history is more intricate and liable to be misapprehended, than that relating to the ancient Scots. The gross ignorance which formerly pervaded the whole of Europe, and the various revolutions incident to every nation, afforded but too wide a field for the prejudices and passions of men; and these circumstances render it almost impossible to rescue from oblivion the scanty remains of our ancient history, which escaped the destroying hand of Edward, king of England. Various have been the derivations of the word Scot. It has been supposed to come from Scoth, a boat; from Scyth, a Scythian; from Scoet, a target;[7] and among others, this word is also derived from Scuit, a wanderer, —an opinion which, at least, carries a probability along with it, since the term was at first applied to those Britons who fled from their native country, on the arrival of the

[1] Pomp. Mela. [2] Cæsar. [3] Ptol. lib. ii. c. 6; vid. Strabo, lib. i. p. 63.
[4] The Latin Iter, or Roman Itinerarium of Richard, p. 18, 20, denominated Caledon. [5] Ptolemæus.
[6] The distance between Massilia and Hibernia 900,000 paces. Compared with Strabo, lib. i. c. 63.
[7] Vid. Note A. Append.

Belgæ on the shores of Britain.[1] But whether the name of the Scots sprung from their unsettled mode of life, or whether it was originally given them as a term of reproach, they were a wandering race when they were at first taken notice of by ancient writers.[2]

It is the opinion of some that they came from Scandinavia, a country which differed from that of the Scots in language, manners and customs.[3] The vernacular tongue of this people appears to have been a branch of the Celtic, since they were descended from the Britons, who went over into Ireland,[4] the language of which differed little from that of the Gauls, being a dialect of the same.[5] But it was much corrupted, like that language in general, by the invasion of the Goths into Europe long before the Christian era.[6] The Scots appear to have been the first inhabitants of Ireland,[7] although they are mentioned before the third century by no Greek nor Roman writer, nor even by Ptolemy, who, in his Geography of that country in the first or second century, gives the names of twenty different races of people descended from the ancient Britons.[8] It is far from being probable that they could be either Scyths or Scandinavians, since that race of men nei-

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[1] In Hiberniam commigrarunt ejecti a Belgis Britones, ibique sedes posuerunt,—ex illo tempore Scoti appellati; Richard's Itinerarium.

[2] Scoti per diversa vagantes. [3] Vid. Note A. in Appen.

[4] Richard's Itinerarium, p. 50. Vide infra, and Notes A. B. and C. in App.

[5] Tacitus, Vit. Agricolæ. See the ancient Gaelic MSS. of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries in the Report of the Highland Society upon Ossian.

[6] Richard's Latin or Roman Itinerarium, p. 50.

[7] In Hiberniam commigrarunt ejecti a Belgis,—ex illo tempore Scoti appellati; Rich. Itin. p. 50.

ther agreed with the Celtic nations in language,[1] manners, religion,[2] nor laws.[3]

Others have supposed that they came from Spain, on account of the etymology of the word Ibernia, which is thought to have been derived from Iberia.[4] But this account is by no means correct. If the Scots be of Spanish origin, they must have been descended from the Celtiberii, who passed over from the east of Gaul into Spain, and invaded that country;[5] and this expedition was composed principally of German Gauls,[6] who differed from the Celts in the appearance of the body,[7] in their manners, customs,[8] laws, religion and language.[9] This people are said to have lived in Ireland even before or about the time when those who were denominated Celtiberii settled in Spain,[10] so that they could not be descended from the Spaniards, a mixed race of people.

The origin of the Scottish nation has indeed been a much agitated question among the learned, but more especially since the time of Fordun, who first collected the remaining fragments of ancient chronicles, after the de-

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[1] Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, c. 18, et in Vit. Agric. c. xi.; Cæs. lib. v.

[2] Aristot. Polit. lib. ii. c. 2; Tacitus de Mor. Germanorum, c. 18, et in Vit. Agric. c. xi.; Cæs. lib. v.

[3] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi., and Tacitus de Mor. Germ.

[4] This appears from Lucan, Silus Italicus, Diod. Sic. Strabo and Appian.

[5] This is evident from the manner in which Cæsar describes Gaul; Cæs. Comm. lib. i.

[6] Tacitus in Vit. Agric. lib. xi.

[7] Tacit. de Mor. Ger. c. 18; Cæs. lib. v.; Arist. Polit. lib. ii. c. 2.

[8] Tacitus, Germ. passim; Cæs. de Bell. Gal. lib. vi. Chiverius, a modern writer, affirms that the Celts and Germans were the same people, contrary to Suetonius, Herodotus, Aristotle, Polybius, Diod. Siculus, Dionysius, Perugetes, Plutarch and Ptolemy. Vid. A. Append.

[9] Compare Richard's Itinerarium, p. 50, with Lucan, Diod. Sic., Silus Italicus, Strabo and Appian. Vid. A. Append.

struction of our historical documents by the crooked policy of Edward, king of England. It is generally supposed, upon the authority of one or two writers, who paint the overthrow of the Pictish nation in rather glowing colours,[1] that this race was entirely destroyed and cut off in the ninth century. As the greater part of the names of towns found in Scotland, including the country of the Picts, is Gaelic, it was thence inferred, that they were of the same origin as the Scots. It is only upon the authority of ancient writers, corroberated by a similarity of manners and customs, that we can trace the aborigines of any nation. According to the testimony of the most ancient writers who bear any evidence to the origin of the Picts, they are said to have been of German or Scandinavian origin, or descended from the Scythians, the same race of people, who spoke a language which agrees not with that of the Scots;[2] and were as different in their manners and customs from that people,[3] as in this particular they resemble the German nations.[4]

The Picts differed from the Scots in the form and appearance of the body, in their religious rites and superstitions, in their manners and customs, the form of their warlike instruments, their language and dress,[5] and almost in every particular of resemblance which traces two

[1] Henry of Huntingdon, fol. v. 217; Rog. of Chest. in Bib. Harl. N. 655; and Fordun, lib. iv. c. 14.

[2] Tacit. Vit. Agric. Ut perhibent gentem Pictorum, contigit de Scythi Their language differed from that of the Scots; Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 1.

[3] They were from the south of Scythia and Germany, Sutliani Scittlia Sax. Chron.; Giraldus Cambrensis, lib. i. c. 15, p. 308. Lond. edit. fo. 1687. A colony of the Peukini, Jornandes and Amm. Mar. l. 17; the same as the German Picts, Tacitus de Mor. Germ.; Dethr. p. 296; Pliny, iv. 13, who lived near the shores of the Baltic. See E. A. and B. Append.

[4] See Note D. Append. [5] Gildas, p. 12.

nations to the same origin.[1] Like every other nation, the Scots carry back the antiquity of their monarchy to a period which is hid in obscurity and wrapt in fable; and give a detail of events 2175 years before their first king reigned in Caledonia; from the time of Scota, Pharaoh's reputed daughter, and Cain's three daughters who settled in Ireland,[2] to whom they pretend to trace back their descent. These notions originated with the bards,[3] an order of men belonging to the Druids, who were held in great estimation by the Celtic nations of Britain.[4] It was indeed from this race of men that the most ancient historians of the country derived their fabulous accounts of the antiquity of the Scots.[5] But what credit can we give to these bardic parasites, who lived by flattering the rich and the great,[6] who spoke not the truth unless it contributed to the aggrandizement of their fortunes?[7] The Irish seanachies, who were the authors of these ancient Scottish fables, were indeed banished the kingdom, in the end of the sixth century, for their excessive flattery and satirical invective.[8] The latter historians, from the time of Fordun, made many additions to the fables of former ages. To the names of a spurious race of kings, which are only given promiscuously together with those of their sons, as they were received from the Irish seanachies and other legendaries,[9] a circumstantial history is added by posterior writers.[9] In order, however, to give an air of probabi-

[1] See Notes A. B. C. D. and E. App.

[2] Dromas Nachta, the book with the white cover.

[3] See Note F. Appendix. See the article Learning.

[4] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 1, &c.

[5] Diodorus Sic. lib. v.; Possodonius and Appian.

[6] Colgan Triad. Thaumaturga, p. 430. 1.

[7] Fordun, lib. i. c. 50; lib. ii. c. 12; and lib. iii. c. 2. edit. Hearn.

[8] Boece and Buchanan.

lity to these tales, and the fabulous history of the new race of kings which Boece invented,[1] it was also necessary to adduce some writers of inflexible veracity as authorities. For this purpose, Veremund, John Campbell, and Cornelius Hibernicus, were forged between the year 1524 and 1525.[2] It was not till the first century that the name of Scotia was heard of.[3] About the middle of the third, the Scots settled in the western parts of Caledonia,[4] and received several successive colonies before the reign of Fergus, son of Erch, their first king, in the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century.[5] This race of people were neither Goths nor Scandinavians, Celtiberii from Spain, nor Thracians; nor were they altogether indigenal inhabitants of Caledonia; but were principally composed of those successive colonies which left the plains of Erin for the fens of Albany. They came from Circe or Circic, a term which is generally understood to imply the north-west or west. This wind, which is called Trastkias,[6] is indeed placed on the right of Loarktias,[7] the north.[8] But the author of this opinion must either have been mistaken, or supposed to be standing with his face to the south; since he observes, that Boreas[9] or Aquilo was situated to the left of the same point, that is,

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[1] Vid. Boece's Hist. ante an. 403.

[2] See Note F. Appen. for a general account of the fabulous antiquity of the Scottish nation.

[3] Percusisse totam terram occidentalem Aschenaz (sive Germaniam) et Scotiam et totam terram Tubal, et universam Togarmiá. Joseph. Compend. p. 206, edit. Basil. 1559, a Hebrew writer.

[4] Gildas, Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. i.

[5] Chart. St. Andr.; the Chronicles called James Gray's Chronicles; Chronicon Rythmicum, c. 5, 6, 7; the Chronicle of Winton, lib. iv. fol. 37, 38-43.

[6] Τραστκιας, Timosthenes, Georg. I. ii.

[7] Vegetius, Λοαρκτιας.

[8] Ibid. et Seneca.

[9] Βορεας.

north-west, whereas we know, that it was north-east.[3] An ancient author, of no ordinary celebrity, was of opinion, that Circius signifies south;[4] but it appears, from several ancient writers of equal authority, that it was the north-west. It neither agrees exactly with Corus the west or north-west,[5] nor with Zephyrus, the west[6] wind,[7] although it corresponds pretty nearly with the former.[8] Thrascias or Circius lay between Aparctia the north,[9] and Agraste the south-west[10] wind;[11] and as the highest point was Aquilo,[12] the north-east,[13] and the middle Septentrio or the north,[14] Thrascias or Circius must have been the lowest or the north-west point, more especially since Britain was situated toward Circius and the west.[15] The Picts, who invaded the Roman provinces of Britain, are said to have come from the north,[16] and the Scottish colonists from Circius,[17] which signifies the north-west; and as Erin, the ancient country of the Scots, lay in this direction, this is an additional proof of their Irish origin.

But although the Scots and Picts were two very different races of men, the one being descended of the Celts, and the other of the Germans or Scandinavians, yet it appears that there was an original tribe of people, who were Irish Scots, and at the same time indigenal inhabitants of Caledonia or Albany. Britain was originally possessed

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[3] Aquilo ab oris hyperboreis, (or Scythiis). Virg.; Ovid's Met. 6. 690.
[4] Pliny, lib. ii. 47. [5] Auson. [6] Virgil.
[7] Non Corus in illum jus habet, aut Zephyrus, sola sua littore turbet Circius. Lucan de partu Hercul. lib. i. v. 406. [8] Sulpitius.
[9] Pliny. [10] Pliny, Timosthenes in Agathemeris de re milit. iv. 38.
[11] Pliny, Seneca. [12] Ibid.
[13] Virgil, and Ovid's Met. vi. 490. [14] Ibid.
[15] Gildas, lib. i. c. 1. [16] Ab Aquilone.
[17] Gildas et Beda, lib. i. c. 12.

by two distinct classes of people,—the Belgæ who lived upon the coast side, and were principally employed in trade; and a race which inhabited the inland parts of the country, and are said to have been its original inhabitants.[1] When the Belgæ arrived on the shores of Britain, several centuries before the Christian era, this indigenous race of people betook themselves to Ireland, a neighbouring island which was then uninhabited.[2] After several successive tribes of the same people had left their native country for Ierne, they began there to be known by the name of Scotti or Scots.[3] These colonies of Britons, who were in Ireland distinguished by the name of Scots, were the first inhabitants of that kingdom;[4] and it is for this reason that Scotland is one of the most ancient and best known names of that country in the middle ages.[5] But, notwithstanding this circumstance, Caledonia, or a part of this country, began to be known by the name of Scotia or Scotland very soon after the Romans settled in the island. As Scotia seemed about this time to be overawed by the Roman bravery,[6] it is evident, that the nation to which this appellation had been given

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[1] Cæs. lib. v. de Bell. Gall.

[2] Richard's Roman Itinerarium, p. 50. A. M. 3650; written probably between the second and third centuries. See Whitaker's Manchester, Hist. b. i. c. 3.

[3] In Hiberniam commigrarunt ejecti a Belgis Britones, ibique sedes posuerunt,—ex illo tempore Scoti appellati. Rich. Itin. p. 50.

[4] Damios, Voluntios, Brigantes, Cangos aliasque nationes origine fuisse Britannia, quæ eo postea (post Scotos) trajecerunt. Rich. Latin Itin. p. 50.

[5] Isidorus, lib. xi. c. 6; Surius, "Iberniam Scotorum," &c.; Aimonius, lib. vi. c. 100; Bed. lib. iii. c. 4; Adomnan. Annal. Ulster.; Eginhard in Gest. Car.

[6] Tremit hos (Romanos) Scotia quæ terris nihil debet; Josephus, quoted by Hegesippus de excid. Hierosol. lib. v. c. 15; and Baldric in Chron. Camerarius, lib. i. c. 2.

was Caledonia,—since Ireland was never threatened by a Roman invasion, and consequently could have nothing to dread, either from these conquerors, or their lawless tributaries.

That Ireland was anciently denominated a Scottish isle, is a point which admits not of the least doubt.[1] But the writers by whose authority this fact is substantiated, lived many centuries after those who shew that Caledonia, or a part of it, was known by the name of Scotia.[2] Although this seems to have been one of the most distinguished names of Ireland, which was anciently inhabited by the Scots, it appears, from authorities the most unexceptionable, that the Scots who lived in Albany came from that country.[3] Thus, the Scots, who are said to have been of Irish origin,[4] derived their name from Ireland, as well as the numerous colonies which passed over between the third and the fifth century. But as the time of their first settlement in Caledonia is not specified by any ancient writer, some of these Scuites[5] or wandering Britons may have returned to their native country after the arrival of

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[1] Scotia, quæ et Hibernia dicitur, Surius. Scotia, quæ tunc erat Iberniæ. Bozius, ad an. 434 insignis Eccl. lib. viii. c. 1. Scotia eadem et Hibernia. Scotia proxima a Britanniæ insula. Isidorus, lib. xii. de insula Scotorum. Bed. in Mart. 13th Nov. Scotia fertilis Sanctorum insula. Surius, 13th Nov. Item Molanus 8th Mail. Tota insula Scotia mirabatur.

[2] Isidorus lived in the 5th century. Surius was a Christian of the middle ages. Scotia fertilis Sanctorum insula, Surius. Bozius lived A. D. 434. Beda flourished in the eighth century. Theodoricus not before the fourth, and Cæsarius after St Patrick.

[3] Scoticæ gentis de Britannorum Vicinia. Hieronymus in 3 prom. in Hieremiam. Scotensis exercitus frequenter transnavigans in Britanniam. Vita St. Patricii in Collegio Duaceno, MS. Alter pene orbis Britannia cum adjacente Scotia. Theodoricus apud Surium, tom. vii. Julii 1. Iberniæ propria est Scottorum patria. Vit. St. Columbæ in Legendario Anglicano. Bed. lib. i. c. 1. Claudian in laud. Vid. Appen. Notes G. H. I.

[4] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 1.

[5] Wandering Scots.

the Picts,[1] and been the means of introducing the new name of Scotia into Caledonia, which was thus distinguished about this time.[2] The Picts in their long galleys, when by stress of wind and weather they were carried from the shores of Britain into Hibernia, found by experience that it was then inhabited, since they were driven from its coast, by the first inhabitants of the country,[3] who were Scots. The new name of Caledonia, and the arrival of some Scots from Ireland, circumstances which appear to have taken place at an early period, seem to have both happened about the same time. This country still retained the name of Scotia or Scotland in the middle of the first century. It was thrown into a great consternation by the Roman invasion about the time of Vespasian or Nero,[4] probably on account of the expedition of Agricola, as that people were carrying on war at this time in Germany.[5] The Roman empire is said to have reached to the ends of the earth. In Britain, it extended as far as the ocean, and over all Scotland,[6] a country[7] which Agricola had at that time almost overrun.[8] The name of Scotia appears thus to have been very ancient, and continued to be the distinguishing ap-

A. D. 53.

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[1] Procedente autem tempore, Britannia, post Britones et Pictos, tertiam Scotorum nationem in Pictorum partes recepit, qui duce Reuda; Bed. lib. i. c. 1.

[2] After the Romans had discovered the island, "Tremit hos (Romanos) Scotia." Josephus. Vid. Hegesip. de excid. Hierosol. lib. v. c. 15.

[3] Bed. lib. i. c. 1.

[4] Percusisse totam terram occidentalem, et Aschenaz sive Germaniam, et Scotiam et totam terram Tubal, et universam terram Togarmia. Joseph. Compend. p. 206, edit. Basil. ann. 1559.

[5] Tacitus, Annal. Roman. [6] Jos. Gorionides, lib. vi. c. 37.

[7] Caledonia.

[8] Tacitus, Vit. Agric.; Epiphanius in Ancorato, c. 115. Panegyricus mentions the Scots in the third century.

pellation of the country, although it was known by several other names.

The Romans had indeed made a hasty excursion over a great part of the island, and defeated the Picts under Galgacus, the general of the united army.[1] Britain, and even Scotland, which still retained its name, is said about the same time to have been conquered,[2] and the Roman empire to have reached to the ends of the earth.[3] But as Agricola came not farther north on that hasty excursion than the Grampian mountains, where the hardy Caledonians met with a defeat,[4] the assertion deserves little credit. Nothing is more capricious than ancient names and designations. They confer little honour upon their possessors, since they may be lost and found in a short space of time. Scotia from this period lost its most ancient name, which seems to have been transferred to Ireland.[5]

Many parts of Caledonia were at this time without inhabitants. The western districts of the kingdom were but thinly peopled; the Orcades were not yet inhabited at all; but the kindly soil of the Hebrides, and the temperature of the climate,[6] soon attracted the attention of the Scots, who seem to have settled here at a very early period. The first colony of Scots, which left Ireland in the reign of Conary II.[7] under the care of its leader Eochad Riada or Reuda, from whom it received the name of Dalreudini,[8] either by friendship or arms established itself in those north-western parts of Caledonia among the Picts, which it continued

A. D. 220.

[1] Tacitus de Vit. Agr. c. 36, 37. [2] Joseph. Gorionides, lib. vi. c. 37.
[3] Tacitus. For we know no other defeat which could agree with the account of the historian, if he can be credited.
[4] Tacitus, Vit. Agric. c. 36, 37. [5] See Note A. App.
[6] Paulus Orosius. [7] Who died A. D. 220. [8] Bed. lib. i. c. 1.

ever after to inhabit.* A treaty between the Irish and this nation appears indeed to have been agreed upon on this occasion for the first time.[2] Eochoid Reuda,[3] who was also known by the name of Eodach Riede,[4] the first chief of the Scots, seems to have settled with his clans in Albany in 258.[5] He was a leader of the Degads of Munster, and a descendant of Conary II. of Ireland, surnamed the Gentle, who died about the year 220.[6] Although he never attained to the rank of king in Caledonia, yet among the chieftains a precedency was given to his house, out of respect to his royal birth, since Fergus, son of Erch, the first king of the Scots, is said to have been a lineal descendant of Conary II.[7]

The island of Britain had originally been subject to kings;[8] but its inhabitants, who were separated into a number of distinct communities or clans,[9] were too independent and free to submit to the usurped authority of a monarch. The warlike tribes of the north threw off their allegiance to their kings, and were divided by their petty chiefs into factions and parties.[10] These parties were the ancient clans, who lived each in a city or town,[11] con-

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[1] (Scoti) duce Reuda, Hibernia egressi, vel amicitia, vel ferro, sibimet inter eos (Pictos) sedes, quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt. Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i.

[2] Eumenius, Ibid. supra. Compared with Bed. lib. i.

[3] Bed. Hist. Eccl. King Alfred's translation.

[4] Albanic Duan. [5] See Note M. Appendix.

[6] Albanic Duan.

[7] Fergus de semine Conari. Chron. Reg. Scotorum ex Cotton. MSS. Colbertin.

[8] Cæs. p. 92; Dio. p. 957; Mela, lib. iii. c. 1; Richard's Roman Itinerarium, p. 15; Diodor. p. 347.

[9] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. v.; Ptolemy, contained in the Palatine MS.; Tacitus, Vit. Agric.

[10] Tacit. Ibid. c. 15. [11] Tacit. Ibid.

sisting of a large space of ground fortified with a rampart or fossé, which they converted into a place of retreat from the incursions of their enemies.[1] As those chiefs who marched out separately to meet the enemy were never unanimous in their councils, and it seldom happened that two or three of them met together for the purpose of repelling the common danger, a great part of Caledonia, in consequence of this disunion, became an easy conquest to Agricola in the first century.[2]

The constitution of the Mæatæ, and some of the Caledonians, probably the Scots, who lived at that time in the country,[3] approached more to the republican form,[4] than that of the Britons.[5] But as the influence of the Pictish monarchs was greater than what was consistent with the republican form of government, as it existed among these Caledonians or Mæatæ,[6] it is evident that by these was understood that race of men who lived in ancient Scotia.

Had Reuda, a descendant of the royal house of Conary, been acknowledged king of that Scottish colony, which he brought over from Ireland to Albany, he could not, in consistency with the republican notions of that tribe among whom he settled, have either maintained the authority of a monarch, or the influence of a prince. The democratical spirit of the nation was at this period inconsistent with such imposing privileges. Neither Reuda nor his descendants, till the time of Fergus, son of

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[1] Cæs. Com. de Bell. Gall. lib. v.

[2] Tacitus Vit. Agricolæ.

[3] Hegesippus de excid. Hierosol. lib. v. c. 15.

[4] Δημοκρατου ται ως ὠ πληθει, Dio. p. 1280.

[5] Δυναστει αι δε εισι παρ ουτοις, Mela, lib. iii. c. 6. Βασιλειος τε και Δυναστας πολλους εχειν, Diod. Sic. lib. iv. et Strab. l. iv.

[6] Turpes, humiles supplicesque Pictorum sola basiate regum. Martial, lib. x. E. 72, and Richard's Itin. p. 92.

Earch, could hold in monarchical subjection, the fierce [1] independence of these Scottish adventurers, who left Ireland in pursuit of new settlements. They were chiefs, and maintained an hereditary influence as such, probably best in times of danger; but they were neither kings, nor did they enjoy a courtly revenue, although they were the ancestors of the first Scottish monarch, who united the clans of the country under one chief, who became their king. [2]

We already alluded to the treaty entered into between the Scots and Irish, upon the arrival of a colony in this country under Reuda. This treaty was again ratified in the year 296, when the Picts and Irish carried their united arms into South Britain. [3] The Dalriads or Scots received from time to time an accession of several new tribes, who joined their settlements. These, together with the first colony of Scots from Ireland, were transported in their curraughs, a species of ships then common in Scotia and Caledonia, [4] to their countrymen in Ergadia, among whom they effected a settlement. [5] The Irish colonies who emigrated from Ibernia to Caledonia seem to have taken up their abode in that part of the country which is now known by the name of Argyle. Ergadia appears thus to have been the seat of the ancient Scots, and the capital of the kingdom, although they gradually extended the boundaries of the nation over a great part of Caledonia. [6]

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[1] Gildas and Beda, lib. i.

[2] Fergus, filius Erch, de semine Chonari. Chron. Regist. Scot. ex Cott. MS. Colbertin.

[3] Eumenius apud Panegyric. V. et Livioli, Antv. 1099. Oct. No. 11, Præf. medium Orat. [4] Adamnanus, Vita St. Columbæ.

[5] Scotici gentes. The translator in the fourth century, or Porphyrius, who lived some time before this period. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 20.

[6] Regist. Excerpt. St. Andr. Chronic. descriptio Albaniæ: "Caput in

A. D. 320. We have but a very limited account of the military transactions of the Scots, from the time of their principal settlement in Scotia under Riada, about the middle of the third century. Although they still retained their name,[1] little is known of their history previous to the year 320, when a new colony settled in Caledonia.[2] The Scots met with little opposition during the settlement of the first Irish colonies, which came over about the middle of the third century. The island was divided among a number of petty kings, who were too seldom united to occasion any serious opposition to the settlement of that people. St. Jerome retained the Greek idiom, when he said that Britain was at that time fertile in tyrants; and Porphyrius, when he mentions the Scots in 267, alludes to these petty kings, who were so numerous in the island.[3] Every chief was denominated king by the Greeks, who enjoyed either a perpetual or hereditary authority in a free state, who could muster a band of followers, or march at the head of an army, as perpetual commander;[4] and it is well known that the government of Britain, at that period, approached in general very near to the democratical or republican form.[5]

A. D. 330. This colony was not well established in the kingdom, when "the mountains of Scotland" are said "to have trembled at the Roman name" in the time of Constantine.[6] But after several fruitless engage-

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" Arregathil in occidentale parte Scotiæ infra mare Hiberniæ." See the extent of the country, *infra*.

[1] Porphyrius or Hieronymus in Epist. ad Ctesiphontem.

[2] Rich. Iun. p. 53; Io. Fred. Grenovius Observat. in Script. Eccl.

[3] Xiphilin ex Dione, Tacitus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus.

[4] Tacitus, Vit. Agric. c. 12.

[5] Vid. supra, p. 31.

[6] A. D. 330. Tremit hos Scotia, quæ terris nihil debet. Hegesippus, de excidio Hierosol. lib. v. c. 15; Baldric in Chronic. Cameracens. lib. i. c. 2.

ments, the Romans left the Scots in the undisturbed possession of their own dominions.

A. D. 337. Constance, the son of Constantine the Great, who died in 337,[1] after conquering and laying hold of Gaul, Spain, part of Germany and Britain, his brother Constantine's dominions, who had imprudently taken up arms against him,[2] fitted out a great fleet, and set sail in order to protect his British provinces from the Scots and Picts. This expedition of the Romans, which was recorded in the first part of the history of Ammianus Marcellinus, which is now lost,[3] seems to have been undertaken in the winter[4] immediately after the victory of the Franks, which was gained in 343.[5] It is indeed said by an ancient writer, that there was no occasion for the appearance of the emperor at this time in Britain.[6] He surprised the inhabitants by stealth. The Scots themselves were unprepared for such a visit; to which may probably be attributed the great slaughter which appears to have ensued, upon an engagement with that nation and their confederates in arms.[7] Towards the latter end of the reign of the Emperor Constantius in Britain, the Picts and Scots invaded the territories of the Southern Britons, the former from the north,[8] and the latter from the north-west, or west.[9] But during the conspiracy which had been made against the Emperor Constantius, no effectual scheme had been taken to suppress the ravages of the Caledonians. These fierce nations had in

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[1] Eusebius, Vita Constant. lib. ii. c. 19. [2] Eutropius, lib. x. c. 3.
[3] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xx. p. 347.
[4] Firmicus de Err. Prof. Relig. c. 29.
[5] As appears from an oration of Libanius, inscribed Ο Βασιλικος, according to Gothofredus, who first discovered this from an inscription. Leg. V. Cod. Theod. de Extraord. [6] Libanius, Orat. iii.
[7] See the medals of Du Cange, de Infer. Ævi. Num. c. 55.
[8] Ab Aquilone, Beda, Hist. Eccl.
[9] A Circio, Gild. et Bed. Hist. Eccl.

consequence renewed their incursions, laid the country waste, and committed great devastations among the terrified inhabitants. [1]

A. D. 360. Julian, the newly appointed Cæsar, receiving intelligence in Gaul, where he resided, of these great ravages made by the Picts and Scots against his provinces, sent to their assistance the following year Lupicinius, master of the army, or commissary-general, an expert commander, with a powerful army, consisting of two Roman legions. [2] Lupicinius, having set out with the Heruli, or Hollanders, and many of the Mœsii, came to Boulogne in the depth of winter. Landing at Rituphiæ, the present Sandwich in Kent, he marched immediately to London, that he might be in readiness to act according to all emergencies. This commander, although he was not destitute of skill in military affairs, was very supercilious and haughty. He addressed the soldiers in a lofty tone, and strutted more like a tragedian in his buskins, than a careful leader inured to the hardships of war; and it was even doubtful whether he was more covetous or cruel. [3] With what success he met the enemy we do not know, although the dangerous wars which soon broke out render it probable, that his designs had become ineffectual. The Scots and Picts were in the

A. D. 364. meantime making daily new progress. They had hitherto advanced with little opposition against the enfeebled Britons and their Roman allies; and it appears, upon the accession of Valentinian to the empire, that the impunity with which they invaded their barbarous neigh-

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xx.

[2] Eodem anno (A. D. 360,) Julianus apud Parisios hibernans, Scotos Pictosque Britannos incursantes audiens, Lupicinium, magistrum armorum, in Britanniam destinavit. Sidon. de Occidental. Imp. lib. vi. p. 141; Amm. Marcell. lib. xx. c. 1.

[3] Amm. Marcell. lib. xx. c. 1.

bours of the south, had drawn in upon the Britons two new enemies, the Saxons and Attacotti.

The Saxons, who were sometimes denominated Axones,[1] or Messones,[2] were a brave people.[3] They lived between the Chersonesus and the Elbe,[4] and began at first, with their piratical incursions to infest Orkney, which was a bare sandy country, destitute of wood, and overgrown with rushes,[5] together with the neighbouring coasts of Caledonia, Ireland and Britain.[6] But they came only in pursuit of plunder, and for that purpose had landed in the isles of Caledonia. The Scots and Picts were in a great measure actuated by the same motives; but being also jealous of the Romans, who had made several fruitless attempts to subdue these two nations, and thinking that the best way to get rid of these troublesome pirates, the Saxons, was to hold out to them prospects of plunder in the south, they engaged them to go out with the army against the Romans and the Britons.

The Attacotti were a British tribe.[7] The term has by some been thought to be a name given by the northern provincial Britons, who were descended from the Cumraig, or Cimbri, to the Dalriads, or Scots, who came from Ireland. These, together with another tribe, are the only nations of North Britain to be found in the ancient Itinerarium,[8] and not in Ptolemy; and may probably have settled in Albany posterior to his time. They appear to have taken up their abode north of the Frith of Clyde,[9]

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[1] Bertius et Lucan. lib. i. 423.
[2] Tacitus, c. 37.
[3] Solinus, c. 22, and Appian, vol. i. p. 14.
[4] Eutropius, lib. iv. c. 21.
[5] Ptol. p. 53.
[6] Ptolemy.
[7] Hieronymus.
[8] Edition Richard, for we conceive this book not to be the work of that monk.
[9] See Pinkerton.

the same region where the Dalreudini, on their first arrival, are placed by Bede.[1]

Valentinian, finding the empire all at once attacked by so many enemies, was in no condition to rescue it from their hands; and thus the Scots, continuing to increase in numbers and in boldness, pushed their conquests far into the country, beyond many of the Roman stations, where they slew Nectarides, Count of the maritime coasts, and Follafundus, or Bulchobandes,[2] a Roman general.[3] They soon penetrated into the interior of the country, and carried their depredations by fire and sword as far as the city of London.[4] Hearing that the enemy, with their new allies, were proceeding with little opposition, and had advanced as far as London, and that the Britons were reduced to the last extremity, the Emperor Valentinian despatched Severus, high steward of his household, to their assistance, who was soon recalled, without having taken the proper means for repelling the Scots. Jovianus was afterwards sent over for the same purpose, although he seems likewise to have effected little against these outstanding foes. They were actuated by the intrepidity of an unvanquished and free people, and carried on their fearful ravages, independent of these succours which where sent to the Britons from Rome. The Romans heard with concern of the progress of the Scots and their allies the Picts. Their success, in a country which had already cost them so much to keep it under subjection, might have proved fatal to all their schemes in regard to South Britain. The inhabitants had indeed been long ac-

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[1] Ad cujus videlicet sinus, (ubi est civitas Britonum munitissima, usque hodie, quæ vocatur Alcluith,) partem septentrionalem Scotti, quos diximus adventantes, sibi locum patriæ fecerunt. Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i.

[2] Gordon, Septentrional. Itin.

[3] Ammianus Marcell. lib. 27, c. 1, 2, p. 118.

[4] Ibid.

customed to live quietly under the dominion of those conquerors, and their chains were rivetted fast. But the severity to which the provincial inhabitants were exposed, from the plundering habits of a barbarous people; the strict discipline which the Romans, who were already settled amongst them, were obliged to observe; the defection of some of the Britons, the inactivity of others, and the fear with which the Scots and Picts inspired them all; might lead to a dissolution of that union by which the Britons were held as slaves, and stimulate them to take up arms in vindication of their own native rights. Afraid that they might yield without a struggle to the enemy, and rise up in rebellion against their ancient conquerors, the Romans resolved to send without delay, to their assistance, a body of veteran troops.

A. D. 367. Theodosius, the father of the first emperor of that name, who was one of the most famous generals of the Roman empire, being intrusted with this expedition, and appointed lieutenant in Britain, came over with a powerful and well-disciplined army. Caledonia was, at that period, divided into several nations, the Dicaledones or northern Picts, who lived above the Grampians;[1] the Veturiones or southern Picts, who lived below the Grampians; the Attacotti or hither Scots, a warlike race of men; and the Scoti, then a wandering and unsettled people.[2] Theodosius landed either where Lupicinius had formerly arrived, at Rituphia, Sandwich, in Kent, a town the most convenient and safe for a Roman army to harbour at, though the port be now choked up with sand, and incapable of admitting large ships of heavy burden; or at Richiburrow, a safe harbour over against

[1] Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 4.
[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. c. 8.

Boulogne.[1] There is a small coin of brass, which seems to have been cast upon this occasion, representing Constantine in a ship, with the legend Beronia.[2]

Having marshalled the Batavii, Heruli and Jovii, he divided them into squadrons or cohorts, according to the division of the legionary soldiers, or auxiliary troops. The Jovii was a Roman legion, which received its name from Jovius, a surname assumed by Diocletian.[3] The Heruli, who were afterwards called Longobards,[4] and the Batavii or Hollanders, were both auxiliary legions.[5] The infantry of each of these auxiliary legions was divided into eight cohorts,[6] and that of a Roman legion into ten,[7] which consisted each of seven hundred and sixty-two men.[8] But one of these cohorts, denominated the Primary, had usually a double complement of soldiers. The cavalry of a Roman legion amounted to seven hundred and twenty-six horse,[9] and that of an auxiliary one to double that number. If the legions of the Jovii, the Heruli, and the Batavii were entire, Theodosius must have brought along with him into Britain, a Roman legion of six thousand one hundred men, and seven hundred and twenty-six horse; and two auxiliary ones, each consisting at least of five thousand five hundred and seventy-six men, and fourteen hundred and fifty-two horse. The second Augustin, the sixth Victorius, and the twentieth Valerian or Victorius, together with the auxiliaries attendant upon these legions, had however been long settled in Bri-

[1] Amm. Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. c. 8.
[2] Vaillayt Banauri. [3] Pompon. Let. [4] Jornandes.
[5] The Batavii were so. Suetonius in Cæsare, c. 24; and so also must the Heruli, as they were not Romans.
[6] Tac. Hist. lib. i. c. 59. [7] Vegetius, lib. ii. c. 6, 7.
[8] Vegetius, lib. ii. c. 6, 7. [9] Vegetius, lib. ii. c. 6, 7.

tain.[1] In the end of the first century, during the reign of Vespasian, there was no less than four in the island,[2] together with the Claudian legion, which came over during the reign of an emperor of that name.[3] The number of disciplined troops in the Roman provinces of Britain must at least have exceeded thirty thousand five hundred, together with eleven thousand auxiliary troops, three thousand six hundred and thirty horse, and fourteen hundred and fifty-two belonging to the auxiliary cohorts. The whole effective troops, including both cavalry and infantry, cannot have amounted to less than forty-six thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, upon the arrival of Theodosius in Britain, besides the provincial Britons themselves, and the auxiliaries of these four stationary legions.

With such a body of well-disciplined men, Theodosius either garrisoned the fortified places of Britain, or took the field against the Scots, Attacotti and Picts, and their ally the Saxons, a few piratical adventurers who had accidentally landed on the coasts, and joined themselves to these nations.[4] Despatching his troops in various directions, and trusting to the strength of numbers, he marched forthwith to London. Here he fell upon the Picts and Scots, with their allies, disposed in small bodies; defeated their undisciplined army, and recovered the captives and fugitives, whom he bound and drove before him; together with the plunder which he restored to those from whom it had been violently taken, unless a small portion which he allotted to his weary soldiers.[5] In consequence

[1] Dion, p. 794, 795. Ptol. Geog. et Itinor. Antonin.
[2] Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 16.
[3] Richard's Ancient Itin. p. 24, 36, 51.
[4] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxvi. xxvii
[5] Ammianus Marcellinus, Ibid.

of this repulse, the fierce mountaineers of Scotia, together with their barbarous allies, fled a little to the north, and scattered themselves over the face of the country. Thus Theodosius entered that city in triumph, which before had been overcast with a fearful presage of those evils, attending the progress of a rude and barbarous enemy. Although elated with success, he determined to be cautious in his movements, in order that he might improve his victory. From the fugitives he learned that the enemy, consisting of divers fierce and numerous nations, was too powerful to be overcome at one blow, and could hardly be surprised by stratagem. By holding out rewards to some, and promising impunity for past offences to others, he brought back the deserters and stragglers to the camp.

The Scots and Picts, in the meantime, were not less busily engaged than Theodosius, in carrying on secret communications with some of the southern Britons; and in consequence of their ill-concerted measures, the Arreans were banished from the country. Having sent for Civiles to Prule, the viceprefect, with Dulcitius, a commander celebrated for his military skill, whom he charged with the good government of the provinces, [1] he lost no time in pursuing the enemy, whom he forced to retire, and at last brought relief to the Britons. While thus engaged in clearing the country of its enemies, the Scots and Picts, a dangerous conspiracy was formed against the life of Theodosius. Valentius, who had been banished into Britain for his dissipation and vice, was the mover of this conspiracy; but being discovered happily before its execution, he was put to death, with his accomplices, by order of Theodosius himself. [2] Claudian, in two of his panegyrics on the Emperor Honorius, records the retreat of the Scots,

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. c. 8. [2] Ibid. lib. xxviii. c. 3, 7.

probably the allies from Ireland, who were chased over the northern seas,[1] and the lamentation which their countrymen the Irish were making for their defeat.[2] Not satisfied with relieving the city of London from its northern enemies, he ranged the country in pursuit of these foes, who carried on war more like the Parthians of old by predatory excursions, than according to the regularity and order of modern warfare. Many of the Caledonian standards were taken by the legions of Theodosius, and set up in triumph among the provincial Britons; and both the Scots and Picts, together with the Saxons, were dispersed by this celebrated general.[3] The auxiliary Scots from Ireland he pursued over the hyperborean ocean with great slaughter;[4] and the rest of the army retired home to Scotland.[5] Ireland wept over the slaughtered heaps of her sons.[6] The defeat which the Scots and Picts met with, together with their Saxon allies, during the reign of Valentinian, the newly appointed Cæsar, was a circumstance generally known. It is recorded, among others, by Sidonius Apollinaris, who lived in the fifth century, for this we take to be the meaning of that author.[7] Theodosius, in order to secure those advantages which he had acquired, after he had recovered the debatable lands between the two walls, fortified the northern one, at the Friths of Forth and Clyde, which Agricola had built in 81, and Antoninus in 138; and there placed guards and garrisons to oppose the risings and irregular excursions

[1] Scotum vago mucrone secutus, fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus undas. Claudianus Panegyr. p. 110.

[2] Scottorum cumulos flevit glacialis Iernè. Claudian. Panegyr. p. 114.

[3] Sidonius Apollinaris. [4] Claudian. Panegyr. p. 110. [5] Ibid. p. 114.

[6] ——— Victricia Cæsar
Signa Caledonios transvexit ad usque Britannos;
Fuderit ut quanquam Scotum, et cum Saxone Pictum. Sidonius Apol.

of the enemy.[1] But the most memorable event that took place under this famous commander, and one which, in some measure, contributed to the internal quiet of the British dominions, was the erection of the territories, within the southern walls, between Northumberland and the Forth and Clyde, which the Northern Britons had formerly conquered and possessed,[2] into a fifth Roman province. That part of the country which is situated north of the wall had previously been divided into four provinces. In the reign of Honorius, the same number still continued.[3] It was now thought necessary to convert into a fifth Roman province, the conquests which the Roman soldiers had made, some time previous, north of the Northumbrian wall, in order to give the Britons, and their Roman conquerors, an additional interest in these debatable lands. This new annexation of territory was named Valentia, in honour of the Emperor of that name; or it may have been thus denominated after ancient Rome, which was called Valentia.

Upon the departure of the Romans from Britain, in the eighth year of the Emperor Theodosius, the Scots and Picts again returned and laid claim to the whole country as far as the southern wall, which had been almost deserted by its former inhabitants.[4] Thus these two nations took possession of the province of Valentia; and continuing their incursions, in spite of the feeble resistance of the Britons, they laid waste the midland territories as far

[1] Limite vigilius tuebatur ex pratenturis. Claud.

[2] Spartian. in Adrian.

[3] Notitia Rom. Imper. edit. Paris, 1650, p. 62.

[4] Anno octavo Theodosii imperatoris, recedente a Britannia Romano exercitu, Scoti et Picti redeunt, et totam ab aquilone insulam vacuam prope indigenis, muro tenus capessunt. Ado.

south as the wall of Severus.[1] The Scots and Piets, losing no favourable opportunity of harassing the Southern Britons, renewed their inroads upon the final departure of Theodosius, who was admitted a partner of the empire with Gratian, and sent to the east to protect their dominions from the Goths, who at that time threatened an invasion.[2] But they were again repulsed in the reign of Gratian, the son of Valentinian, by Maximus, a Spaniard or Briton, who had so effectually established his dominion in Britain,[3] that he afterwards drew from thence all the Roman and a great proportion of the British soldiery.[4]

A. D. 370.

Fordun has, about this period, given a fabulous account of a confederacy entered into by the Romans, Britons and Picts against the Scots, with their united armies. They are said, not only to have invaded their country, discomfited their army, killed their King Eugene and most of their nobility, but even to have expelled them from the country forty-three years. According to the same authority, they were afterwards restored under Fergus, who is said to have been crowned king over the Scots of Argyle in 403.[5] The account of this expulsion of the Scots, which is said by some to have taken place in the year 360, and by others during the usurpation of Maximus,[6] seems altogether destitute of truth. In 360, they were engaged, together with the Picts, in a war against the Britons; and in 383, their defeat by Theodosius looked more like an expulsion than that under Maximus, who only drove them from the Roman province.[7]

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[1] Ethelwerd, who lived A. D. 1090. Angl. Scrip. fol. 474.

[2] Zosimus, lib. iv. [3] Prosper. Chron. Zosimus, lib. iv. p. 47.

[4] Gregor. Turon. Hist. Chronic. de Tiro; Prosper. in Antiq. lect. canis; Bed. lib. i. c. 9. [5] Fordun, edit. Hearn, vol. i. b. ii. p. 145.

[6] See Innes, p. 652. [7] Prosper, ubi supra.

Maximus, immediately upon his usurpation, passed over into Gaul,[1] in order to surprise the Emperor Gratian, and taking along with him the flower of the British youth, laid open the provinces anew to the attacks of their warlike neighbours of the north; and from this time is to be dated the ruin of the British empire. Maximus being engaged with Gratian, Valentinian, and afterwards with Theodosius, in making good the title which he assumed, was unable to render any assistance to the wretched Britons, now so much enervated by Roman slavery, that they knew not of liberty to defend, and their lives they had not even courage to fight for.

Thus they stood the open victims of the rage and the fury of their merciless enemies the Scots, who were joined by new auxiliaries of the same people from Ireland.[2]

The Roman empire had become so unwieldy, that it in a manner fell to pieces of itself. Italy, the seat of empire, was far removed from the scene of war, and the frontier provinces being engaged in perpetual warfare, became a school of discipline for the hardy warrior. But the Romans, if ever they seriously intended the conquest of Caledonia, since the time of Agricola, met uniformly with a more determined resistance than they had anticipated; and at last they found it altogether impracticable. As the war raged in the frontier provinces of the Roman empire, the inhabitants of Italy being removed at a distance, lost their warlike spirit, and became enfeebled by luxury and ease. When the fierce and warlike hordes of the north, who had already added discipline to a spirit which could not easily be subdued, were tempted, by

[1] Gildas, c. 10, p. 12.

[2] Totam cum Scottis Iernam movit; et infesto spumavit remige Tethys. Claudian, lib. ii. de Laud. Stilich.

their success, to effect a settlement in the Roman provinces, it was not then that this people could think of conquering Albany.

The Scots had hitherto maintained inviolable their union with the Picts, from the time that their principal Irish colonies settled in Scotia. Their clans were not at that period numerous, nor their nation extensive. Like every other infant colony, this people found it their interest to court their more powerful neighbours in the plains of Caledonia; but beginning to increase in numbers as in power, they thought also of conquering for themselves. In the time of Theodosius, they had extended their boundaries over a great part of the province of Valentia, together with the Picts.[1] But they now wished to purchase new settlements by their own swords; and for this purpose joined their Irish auxiliaries in an expedition to the south. With their united forces, consisting of the Scottish troops and these auxiliaries, they embarked aboard their leathern curraughs, which were sometimes furnished with masts and sails, but more commonly worked by means of oars.[2] They landed in Wales during the reign of Mail-cumus the Great, where they disembarked a body of their troops, and conquered the regions of the Demetæ in South Wales. This tribe possessed Caermarthen, Pembroke and Cardigan shires. The sons of Vethan, an Irish or Dalriatic chieftain, who accompanied the army upon this expedition, took up their abode at the town of Minea, St David's, and Caer-kidwelly, in Caermarthenshire, which they seem to have retained for a considerable time.[3]

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[1] Ado. [2] Adamnanus, Vit. Columb.

[3] Filii autem Wethan obtinuerunt regionem Dimetorum, ubi civitas est quæ vocatur Minea (Minevi or St David's); et in aliis regionibus, se dilataverunt, i. e. Guihercet, Guely, (to Caer-kidwelly in Caermarthenshire in Wales.) Nennius, c. 81.

About the same period, the Scots made a descent on the Isle of Man, of which they possessed themselves; and Buile, with his clansmen, settled on this island, and kept it long in subjection.[1] Although the Demetæ could not resist the Roman forces when they invaded the country, and seem to have submitted after several keen engagements, yet their kingdom, as it lay at a distance from the scene of the Roman war in Britain, and was besides wild and uncultivated, was little troubled with this warlike people. These conquests which the Scots made in Guenedotia, which received its name from Cuneda, a Welsh chief, were of short duration. This chieftain, with his sons, about twenty or thirty years afterwards, drove the Scots from these regions with a great slaughter, where they never again returned.[2] It was probably about this time, when there were no more Roman veterans to oppose them in Britain, that the Scots took possession of the Isle of Anglesey or rather Man, which is a pretty large island of good natural soil, lying adjacent to it;[3] for they certainly inhabited one or both of these islands before the fifth century.[4]

During that period, when Gratian, who took up arms against the tyrant Maximus, was betrayed by his general, abandoned by his troops, and Valentinian II. forced to take leave of Italy, until Theodosius delivered him from the hand of Maximus, a period of thirteen years;[5] the Scots and their allies appear to have been carrying on

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[1] Buile autem tenuit Euboniam insulam cum suis. Ibid.

[2] Apud Britones regebat, id est in regione Guenedotiæ, quia atavus illius Cunedag, cum filiis suis, Scotos reversi fuerunt iterum ad habitandum, &c. Nennius, c. 64; (Caermarthenshire in Wales); donec expulsi sunt a Cunedi, et a filiis ejus, ab omnibus regionibus Britannicis. Nen. c. 8.

[3] Paulus Orosius, who wrote about that time. [4] Ibid.

[5] Ausonius.

their pillaging system in the provinces. But upon the death of Valentinian II. and the usurper Ugenius, when Theodosius the Great became sole emperor of the Romans, the Scots, Picts, Franks and Saxons were checked in their predatory career by Chrysantus, a general of considerable merit, who was appointed commander-in-chief or Vicar of Britain under this emperor.[1] The country seems at that time to have abounded in morasses,[2] and the Scots are said for a time to have been driven back to their bogs.[3] But the effects of this repulse were short-lived. They again invaded the provinces, and their progress, which was marked with greater ferocity and devastation than formerly, seemed to have threatened the provincial empire with immediate ruin.

A. D. 397 or 398.

The miserable condition to which the Britons were reduced being intimated to Stilicho, a general under the Emperor Honorius, he sent over new forces to assist them against the Picts and Scots, displaced them from most of their strong holds, and ordered the northern wall to be again fortified.[4] Gildas takes notice of the wretched condition to which the Britons were reduced at this period by their implacable enemies the Picts and Scots; and of the sudden and unexpected repulse which the Caledonians met with from the Roman army, sent to the assistance of the Britons in the first consulate of Honorius.

A. D. 402.

Thus happily relieved by their friends the Romans, the Britons, though they had erected a rampart across the island, or rather repaired that built by Lollius Urbicus in 138, which was afterwards

[1] Socrates, Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 12. [2] Xiphilin ex Dione.
[3] Redactum in paludes suas Scotum. Latinus Pacatius in Panegyr. Theod.
[4] Itinerarium Septentrionale, by Gordon.

called "Graham's dyke," were not long able to withstand the impetuosity of their northern enemies.[1] Those Romans who appeared among the several troops which came to join Stilicho before the battle of Pollentum, which had guarded the wall in the extremity of the island of Britain from the invasion of the Picts and Scots,[2] had no sooner quitted the British shores, after driving back the northern nations, than the Scots and Picts commenced immediately their offensive career against the southern foe. They broke down the intermediate barrier, and laid waste the British dominions with renewed vigour.[3] The desolation which came upon Austria, Thrace, Hungary, Africa, and even Rome itself, on the rapid march of the Goths, Allans, and Vandals, which drew off many of the Roman forces from the island, was not the worst evil which at that time befel the provinces. The remaining part of the troops were instigated to mutiny and rebellion. They raised up successively Marcus and Gratian to the throne; but soon put an end to their lives, and invested Constantine, an officer of inferior rank, with the purple. This prince drew them off in great numbers to Spain and Gaul, where he was soon taken prisoner in his own capital, and slain;[4] a circumstance which exposed the provinces anew to the attacks of the Scots and Picts.

The Britons had again recourse to the Romans for assistance, who were engaged at home in defend-
A. D. 409. ing their own country against the usurpation of the Goths. The progress of these ruthless invaders on the continental empire of the Romans, prevented them from attending to this request of a province so remote. Although encouraged by letters from the Emperor Ho-

[1] Gildas, Hist. c. 12; Beda, c. 12.
[2] Claudian de Bell. Gild. p. 107. [3] Gildas, c. 14.
[4] Zozomen, lib. ix, c. 11, 12, 13, 14. Speed's Chron. p. 280.

norius,[1] to protect themselves as well as possible in their fortified cities;[2] and induced, from their dangerous situation, to take some decided measures for future safety, they resolved to shake off their dependance on the Roman empire at this period, since the emperor thus gave up all claim to their allegiance.

A. D. 414. The Scots and Picts still continued to renew their incursions, and the rather on this account, because their most formidable enemy, the Romans, had mostly left the island. But the Latin families who had lands and possessions in the provinces, together with the other veterans who had not joined their countrymen on the Continent, sensible that all was at stake, gave them a warm reception, and in some measure arrested their progress.[3] The northern mountaineers, not discouraged at this check to their career, and still continuing their ravages, the Romans soon perceived that all was unavailing. Preferring their personal safety, and that tranquillity which they could not find amidst these incessant incursions of the enemy, to extensive landed property, which was thus rendered useless, they disposed of their estates, and passed over to the Continent.[4]

A. D. 418-422. Soon finding from experience that they were not able to withstand the Scots and Picts, after they had remained for some time exposed to the oppression of these enemies, the Britons were at last obliged to sue for aid from their old ally, and swear fealty to the emperor Honorius. This prince sent to their assistance a legion of troops,[5] under the command of Vic-

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[1] Zozimus, lib. vi. p. 376, 381. [2] Zozimus and Procopius.

[3] Zozimus, lib. vi. [4] Ibid.

[5] Hac tempestate, Britanni, Scotorum Pictorumque infestationes non ferentes, Romam mittunt, ac sui flagitant; quibus statim ab Honorio missa militum legio, magnam barbarorum multitudinem stravit, cæterosque Britanniæ finibus expulit. Paulus Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 643.

torinus, who overcame the Picts and Scots; and after advising them to repair the northern wall, which they made of turf instead of stone, they again took their departure.[1] Unsuccessful as they were by land, the Picts and Scots, embarking on board their curraughs, made another attack in their ships; and breaking through the wall of the Forth and Clyde, cut down every body of troops which came in their way, and forced the Britons to solicit the Romans for a new reinforcement.[2] The deputies who went to Rome appeared before the emperor with their garments rent, and ashes upon their heads, in order to excite his commiseration. These importunities and marks of dejection appear to have been effectual, for another legion was sent under the command of Gallio of Ravenna, who defeated the Scots and Picts,[3] and sent them precipitately beyond the friths.[4]

The Romans, finding it no longer expedient to send forces to their succour, advised them to erect a wall from sea to sea across the island, in order to secure themselves from the future attempts of the enemy. This stately barrier, which measured about nineteen feet in height, and nine in thickness,[5] or rather twelve feet in height, and only eight in thickness,[6] was erected at the public and private expense, by the joint labours of the Romans and Britons.[7] It appears to have measured sixty-eight and a half English miles from sea to sea, and to have been fortified

[1] Gildas, c. 12; Bed. lib. i. c. 12.
[2] Gildas, p. 13; Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 12.
[3] Beda, Hist. Eccl. c. 12; Gildas, c. 12, 13, 14.
[4] Sed mox, ut decessere Romani, advectis iterum navibus, hostes, ob iras sibique conducant ac devorant, rursumque advocant Romani, eosumque hostem trans mare fugant. Paulus Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 643.
[5] Cambd. in Com. Northumb. [6] Beda, lib. i. c. 12.
[7] Bed. ibid.; Gildas, ubi supra.

with eighty-one castles, each sixty-six feet square, and thirty-two turrets or watch towers, twelve feet square, with a deep and spacious ditch on the enemies' side.[1] Had these seas between which the wall was built been the friths of the Forth and Clyde, the distance could only have been thirty miles; whereas the number of miles mentioned above corresponds with the distance from the Solway to the Tyne, between Newcastle and Carlisle, where the wall appears to have been situated.[2] This wall was built on the Northumbrian border, beginning at Wales-end near Tinmouth, and ending at the sea of Galloway, that is, the Solway frith; for it seems evidently to have been situated where the wall of Severus stood.[3]

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1. Itiner. Sept. Brit. lib. i. c. 4. p. 64; and Horsely.
2. Capit. Gildæ, c. 9. p. 3. edit. Gale, from an ancient MS.
3. Bed. lib. i. c. 12; lib. iii. c. 2; vide Innes, p. 18.

CHAP. II.

The introduction of Christianity.—Palladius.—Ninian.—Irish Bishops.—Conquest beyond the wall.—The Scottish expulsion.—Progress of the Scots in England.—Supplication of the Britons.—Arrival of the Saxons.—Conquest of the Scots in Northumbria.—Military discipline.—Battle of Stamford.

During these struggles, which were so keenly maintained between the Scots and the Romans, who were aspiring to universal dominion, that system of heavenly wisdom, the Christian religion, which is the best gift of God to man, began to be diffused in the northern districts of the British island. It is beyond all doubt one of the most important events recorded in the annals of the Scottish nation. Our ancestors had hitherto pursued their enemies, with the relentless fury of a savage people. Mercy was a virtue almost entirely unknown in these barbarous times.[1] The Caledonians, who shewed no pity towards their enemies in the first century, expected as little, when they burned and destroyed their wives and children, that they might not fall into the hands of the Romans.[2] But although the benevolent character of the gospel was not very conspicuous in its effects, for several centuries, it gradually subdued that ferocious spirit, which so uniformly accompanies heathen idolatry. The genius of the gospel not only restored the worship of the true God, and abolished the bloody rites of the

[1] Gildas, c. 18, 19; Tacit. Annal. [2] Tacit. Annal.

heathen, but must also have had no small share in laying the foundation of that political change, which took place in the nation soon after this period.

Christianity was first introduced among the Scots in Britain by Palladius, who was consecrated bishop by Pope Cælestine, and sent to the converted Scots. [1] Pelagianism had made its way as far north-west as the British churches, [2] soon after it was condemned by order of the imperial court. [3] The Gallican bishops sent Germanus and Lupus into Britain to put a stop to its progress in 429, [4] because the author of these peculiar doctrines being himself a British Scot, the heresy became the more dangerous. [5] That Palladius co-operated with these missionaries, in withstanding this heresy, is highly probable; since he prevailed on Pope Cælestine to send Germanus and Lupus to purge Britain of the Pelagian dogmas, while he was yet a deacon at Rome. [6]

A. D. 431.

The same author [7] by whose authority these facts are substantiated, in mentioning the assiduity of Celestine to extirpate Pelagianism out of Britain, adds, that the Pope, by sending the Scots a bishop, not only secured a Roman island in its orthodoxy, but likewise brought a barbarous one to Christianity. "Pope Cælestine was not less diligent "in delivering Britain from the same infectious doctrines,

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[1] Ad Scotos in Christum credentes; Prosper. Chronic.

[2] Prosper. in Chronic. Florent. et Dionys. Cons.

[3] Beda, Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 17. [4] Ibid.

[5] Ancient MSS. vid. Benedict. St Mavire, tom. 2. Append. coll. 79. "Albinum canem" (Pelagium).

[6] A. D. 429. Actione Palladii diaconi, papa Cælestinus Germanum Antiprodorensem Episcopum, vice sua mittit, et deturbatis hæreticis, ad catholicam fidem dirigit. St. Pros. Chron.

[7] Prosper. c. 41.

"when he banished from their country some enemies of "the faith, appointed a bishop in Scotland, and not only "endeavoured to preserve in the Roman island the exer- "cise of the Catholic religion, but also converted a bar- "barous country to Christianity."[1] In less than two years after the mission of Palladius to the Scots, Agricola Pelagianus, son of the bishop of Severianus, is said to have corrupted the churches in Britain with his doctrines. But at the instance of Palladius the deacon, Pope Celestine sent Germanus Antisidorensis as bishop in his stead, who, after expelling the heretics, instructed the Britons in the true faith."[2] That part of Britain which was conquered by the Romans had formerly been called the Roman, and that inhabited by the Picts and Scots, the barbarous island. But all Britain at length received the latter appellation.[3] The barbarous island, which was instructed in the tenets of the Christian religion by Palladius, was undoubtedly that of the Scots and Picts, and not the island of Ireland; for although in its laws, customs and manners, that country was rude and uncivilized, it was never peculiarly denominated "the Barbarous Island," by ancient writers. Ireland was at first inhabited by the Scots,[4] a circumstance which gives rise to this opinion. They passed over from the interior of Britain, upon the arrival of the Belgæ, and there received the name of Scots. But although the mission of Palladius has been thought to apply to that country, it appears that he never visited the island in such a capacity.

Christianity is indeed said to have made some progress in Ireland, before the mission of Palladius to the British

[1] Prosper. Aquitanus in Cassian. [2] Vid. Goodal.
[3] Hadrianus, lib. iii.; Rerum Francisc. p. 144.
[4] Beda, lib. i.; Isidorus.

islands. Kinvannus, Albeus, Declanus, and Ibarus, are said to have been bishops in that country before the year four hundred and thirty-one.[1] This opinion was formed from the fragments of the lives of some of the Irish bishops, who are said to have converted many of their countrymen in the fourth century. But as it has been satisfactorily proved, and among others by Bollandus, that these fragments are of no earlier a date than the twelfth century, and are besides the most of them fabulous, as appears from the idea of Irish bishops before Christianity was established by St Patrick;[2] it is obvious that they had no knowledge of the Christian religion, before the time of this saint, and consequently that they could not be the Irish Scots to whom this missionary was sent.[3] The barbarous state in which Ireland is represented to have been, and the almost insurmountable difficulty which St Patrick met with in the conversion of its inhabitants, may suffice to shew, that they were not, upon his arrival among them, brought over to Christianity; for he remained sixty years in that country before he had rooted out idolatry. Palladius was sent in the year four hundred and thirty-one.[4] Pope Cælestine, who ordained him, died on the 6th of April,[5] within a year or little more of the time when he sailed for Britain;[6] so that very little time was left for him "to bring a barbarous island to "Christianity," if he converted the Irish Scots.

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[1] Usher's Eccles. Ant. p. 417. [2] Usher's Hist. Eccles. p. 407.

[3] For that involved the idea of their belief in the tenets of Christianity, for which we have no evidence, although it will afterwards appear that some of the Scots were already converted. The conversion of the Irish was reserved for St Patrick; and he was sent by Pope Cælestine, who died about a year after the mission of Palladius. Baronius Annal. tom. v. col. 684, edit. Columb. [4] Prosper. [5] As we find in the pontifical.

[6] Nennius, p. 56, 57. Compare p. 50 and 51.

Cœlestine, the patron of Palladius, is reported by some to have been a Scotchman, and by others he is said to have been from Campania in Italy. But that Pelagius, who had before the mission of Palladius tainted the British churches, and it may be our ancestors, with some new heretical doctrines about the original sin, and the operations of the divine spirit, was a British Scot, admits of no doubt. Pelagius had his origin among the Scots, a nation living in the vicinity of Britain, and, in the language of Jerome, had become very fat on Scotch pottage,[1] that is, had imbibed some heretical notions of this kind among his countrymen, which he afterwards propagated.[2] These words, "the heresy of the Scots,"[3] certainly do not imply that Pelagius was the original propagator of these peculiar doctrines; or if he was, that he had many followers in this heresy among his countrymen, when it broke out in 405. It is not to be wondered, if these tenets of Pelagius, which were condemned by a council of the African bishops, held at Carthage in 412, and by Zozimus, the Roman pontiff, should draw the attention of the Roman bishop to the Scots, among whom they originated, and induce him to send Palladius to the conversion and confirmation of that nation, since he was then aspiring to pre-eminent power.[4] The Gospel began very early to travel abroad from the Roman part of the island. There were many

[1] Stoldissimus (Pelagius) et Scotorum pultibus prægravatus. (Præf. in lib. i. Com. in Hieren.) habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis de Britannorum vicinia, (ibid. lib. iii.); et Scotos Britannicam gentem. St. Hieronym. lib. ii. ad Jovian. c. 6.

[2] Or "the pottage of the Scots." Vid. *supra*.

[3] According to a collection of the best authorities from Usher.

[4] This opinion is corroborated by the religious zeal and Christian reception with which Conal, great grandson of Fergus, greeted Columba, the next Christian missionary, upon his arrival in Albany to convert the northern Picts. Bed. lib. i.

converts to the Christian religion in its northern districts, which the Romans had not yet subdued, previous to the year 209, before the principal Irish colonies of Scots had settled in Caledonia.[1] The violent persecution of Diocletian in the beginning of the fourth century, and the severity with which men were handled by their persecutors, obliging many Christians to seek refuge in the deserts and uninhabited places, and probably in North Britain itself, could not fail to have increased the number of Christians among the Picts and Scots.[2] St Ninian, who was born in Galloway, or the province of Valentia, converted its inhabitants, the Picts, and some of the Scots, to Christianity, in 412.[3] It is evident from ancient writers,[4] who represent Columba as keeping always on the north of the Grampian hills, that the Picts converted by him, inhabited that part of Caledonia, lying between the Forth, and those mountains that were adjacent to the dominions of the Scots. It is scarcely credible that this nation, which was on terms of alliance with the Picts, could remain entirely ignorant of the Christian religion, were we not assured that some of its inhabitants were brought over to Christianity, at several periods previously to this time.[5] Palladius is well known in the traditionary records of the country. After he had overturned many of the Druidical fanes of idolatry, and converted them into temples of the living God, he paid the debt of nature, and

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[1] Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita. Tertullianus contra Judæos, c. 7.

[2] God fortified the martyrs, whose places of burial were then in possession of a foreign and barbarous nation. Gildas, Hist. Eccl. p. 11.

[3] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 4.

[4] Ibid. Adamnanus, Vita St. Columb.; Bed. lib. iii. c. 4.

[5] And if so, how much more reasonable is it to apply the expression, ad Scotos credentes in Christum, to the British Scots, than to the Irish, of whose conversion to Christianity we have no grounds for believing?

was buried in North Britain, at a place denominated Forgund or Fordun, in the Mearns,[1] — venerable for his years, the sanctity of his life, and the simplicity of his manners. The chapel in the cemetery on the south side of the church of Fordun was dedicated to his memory, and to this day called Paldy church.[2] It was in this sacred temple of religion, that the rich shrine dedicated to Palladius was erected, and continued to receive frequent visits till as late a period as the Reformation.[3]

Although the Gospel was published very early in Britain, and was known in Scotia before the fifth century, the inhabitants of this country had no previous knowledge of the Jewish dispensation.[4] The early Scottish missionaries must have had many difficulties to struggle with, in planting the Christian religion in this country. The Scots could not draw any evidence in favour of the Gospel from the prophecies of the Old Testament; nor were they at that time capable, even had they been possessed of any previous knowledge, regarding these ancient prophecies. Palladius was distinguished for his moderation and prudence, and intimately acquainted with the human character; but although he had sown the seeds of Christianity in Scotland, it was long before they ripened into an abundant harvest.

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[1] Annorum plenus apud Longforgund in Mernissin pace requiescit. Brev. Aberd. fol. 25. (Julius).

[2] In the neighbourhood of the town of Fordun, there is an yearly market which is called Paldy fair, and also hard by is Paldy well.

[3] Camerarius, on the authority of Polydore Virgil. Immo ante 150 annos captæ ipsius, auro argentoque, et gemmis dotissimæ, sunt reparatæ a Gulielmo Shennes, Sanct. Andr. Archiepiscopo. Camerarius de Scotorum pietate, p. 164.

[4] "Neither did Britain, a country fruitful in kings, or the nations of the "Scots, and the barbarous people around them, who extended even to the "ocean, know any thing of Moses and the prophets." Porphyrius, who wrote about 270. Vid. Hieronymus, Epist. apud Ctesiphontem contra Pelagium.

The Romans, who had, in the meantime, brought assistance to the wretched Britons, and repaired the breaches in the rampart, were no sooner departed, but the old enemy made his appearance, and marched up to the wall of Severus, which the Romans at their last visit had repaired and fortified with towers. They were not only furnished with their usual weapons of war, but necessity had taught them the use of long hooked instruments, such as the Turks made use of at the siege of Vienna.[1] According to the moving and melancholy relation of ancient writers,[2] pulling many of the helpless defendants with these grappling hooks from off the battlements, they forced a passage through the wall, and left the field covered with dead bodies. The ravages made by the Picts and Scots occasioned a terrible famine; so that the Britons preyed upon their very friends. The Scots and Picts, like all barbarous nations, were more intent on plunder than conquest; and thus they lost the fairest opportunity of improving their victory, and subduing the provinces. Their war, indeed, consisted in plundering excursions. It was seldom contrived with skill, or managed with prudence; for they were accustomed to pursue their enemies only beyond the friths, over which they usually brought their yearly prey.[3]

A. D. 446.

The trouble which they had brought upon the dastardly Britons, and the civil rapine which prevailed, carried desolation into every corner. Agriculture was neglected, the fields were not sown, and the inhabitants roamed up and down the country, and lived upon the natural fruits of the earth, like wild beasts. These starving refugees

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[1] In the year 1368.

[2] Gildas, Hist. Ecclesiast. c. 12. Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 12.

[3] Qui prius anniversarias prædas transmario nullo obstante cogere solebant. Bed. l. i. c. 12.

came sometimes, by stealth as it were, from their lurking places, and carried off privately provisions for themselves and their families. Famine and pestilence soon appeared in the land, and swept off multitudes of the unhappy Britons.[1] But notwithstanding all these circumstances, so favourable to the Scots and Picts, who were yet too little civilized to make any permanent settlement, they relinquished their conquests, resigned their hope of future aggrandizement, and proceeded to their winter quarters, contented with the spoils of the country.[2]

The Britons now enjoyed a few years of tranquillity, during which they repaired their houses, and turned their attention to agriculture.[3] But the plentiful crop which followed, soon lulled them into security, plunged them into intemperance, and allured the rapacity of their old enemies, who had only retired from the provinces, satiated with spoil, in order that they might return again,[4] and reduce them to a state of greater slavery.[5] At last, being brought to the greatest extremity, and hardly possessing wherewithal to subsist upon, they sent "the groans of the "Britons," as they were called, to the Consul Ætius. Upon this occasion, they observed, with tears in their eyes, "that the barbarians drove them to the sea, and the sea "drove them back upon the barbarians; so that they had "only the choice left them, either to be drowned or have "their throats cut." This embassy was sent to no purpose.[6] In vain did they implore the aid of their old allies the Romans, who had become weary of a burdensome and

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[1] Gildas, Hist. Eccl. c. 16, 19, 21.

[2] Revertuntur ad Hibernas domus. Gild. c. 19; Annal. Bevel. p. 45.

[3] Gildas, c. 16, 19. Post non multum temporis reversuri. Ado.

[4] Gild. Hist. Ibid.; Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 14.

[5] Gild. p. 13; Bed. lib. i. c. 12.

expensive war, neither consistent with the security of their own empire, since the Goths were already at the gates of their cities, nor compatible with so tedious a journey, both by sea and land. The Scots and Picts pursued their conquests, and the Britons tamely yielded to their arms; resistance appeared to them to be in vain, for they were by this time reduced to the greatest extremity of misery and want.

The whole Scottish nation is erroneously said to have been driven to Ireland about this time, upon the authority of some Irish and Scottish writers, and the following passage from Gildas, "the Irish spoilers therefore went "home, but soon after returned." [1] This passage, as we have already seen, [2] may probably refer to the Dalriads or Scots, who were called Hiberni, because most of them came originally from Ireland, returning home from the scene of the last engagement, which took place beyond the wall of Northumberland; for the Britons were instigated by despair, before they obtained a victory over the Picts and Scots. [3] At most, it can only allude to those in Ireland, who sometimes joined the Scots in Britain, either as predatory adventurers, who came over for the sake of carrying off spoil and captives, or as auxiliaries to assist them against the provincials. [4] After the Britons had sent

[1] Revertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum, post non multum temporis reversuri: *or* revertuntur ad Hibernas domus. Gildas, Hist. c. xix. p. 17.

[2] Vid. supra. [3] Gildas, ibid.

[4] Claud. de Laud. Stilich. lib. ii. Their exile is indeed supported by some writers, principally of the middle ages, as well as by many respectable modern authors, which makes it a subject worthy of some investigation; but the opinion is unsupported by the most ancient writers, who take notice of the transactions of this nation in the fifth century, and is even contradictory of its known history.

their supplications to Ætius in 440, the Picts remained in the extreme part of the island, sometimes making plundering excursions, and "the impudent Irish spoilers went "home, but soon returned." If the passage does not imply those roving Scots from Ireland who came over for the sake of plunder, it must allude to the Scottish inhabitants of North Britain, who frequently assisted the Picts. But if we allow that they went directly to Ireland, and not through the province of Valentia to Argyleshire, their ordinary residence and home; the women, with the rest of the inhabitants of Scotland, who may have been left to take care of the cattle and other domestic concerns, still remained in Ergadia, and were not expelled with these Irish spoilers.

We have however a still more unquestionable fact, which, if any meaning can be attached to it, undoubtedly shews, that the Scots were still living in Britain, after their supposed expulsion. The Saxons, who were allowed by Vortigern to settle in 449, under Ochta and Ebissa, in the west, near the ocean, occupied many countries beyond the Fresic Sea, that is, the Solway Frith, [1] or that which flows between the Britons and Scots, extending to the confines of the Picts, in the north-eastern parts of Valentia. [2] How comes it to pass that they preferred that particular part of the country, in order to awe the Scots into subjection, if they had fled to Ireland three years before this period? Or with what propriety can it be said that their settlements lay in Northumbria, between the Britons and Scots, if there was no such nation as the latter living at that time

[1] Aquilonali parte insulæ, quæ nunc Northumbria vocatur, assiderunt. Malmesbury, f. 4.

[2] Et occupaverunt plurimas regiones, trans mare Fresicum; i. e. quod inter nos Scotosque est, usque ad confinia Pictorum. Nen. c. xxxvii.

in the island? That the expulsion of the Scottish nation was a mere fable, and not confirmed by any ancient authentic record, can admit of no doubt. The fear which Vortigern entertained of the Scots, is understood to have been the principal circumstance, that induced him to send for the assistance of the Saxons.[1] Their exile is said to have happened in 446.[2] It was not till after the Picts had advanced nearly as far as London, in one of those inroads, from "the extreme part of the island," Valentia, where they lived at the time, when the Irish spoilers were sent to Ireland, that the Saxons came over in 448, and arrested them in their progress.[3] Had Nennius, a more ancient writer than any of those who maintained the expulsion of the Scots from Britain, believed this to be the fact, he doubtless would not have attributed to Vortigern a dread of their rising against him with the Picts. So far were they from being driven from the country, that the Britons were obliged, in 449, to send for the assistance of Ochta and Abisa, two famous Saxon warriors, against the fierce and the hardy Scots; although Vortigern and his Anglic army were already embarked in the same cause.[4]

The ancient annals of Ireland[5] make no mention of the Scottish expulsion; and even those modern writers who contradict the statements of the ancient Irish authors, were long silent respecting a colony from Ireland.[6] But both the Scottish and Irish writers soon became acquainted with this account of their expulsion, from the writers of

[1] Nennius, c. 28, 37, p. 137. [2] Gildas, c. 19, p. 17.
[3] Bed. Hist. Eccl.; Fabius, Ethelward, and Polydore Virgil.
[4] Invitabo, ut dimicarent contra Scotos, Ochta et Abisa. xv. Chiules of Nennius, c. 37, p. 137.
[5] Such as Tighernac, and the Annals of Ulster.
[6] Vide Note N. Append.

the middle ages, to whom the opinion is to be referred, [1] although at variance with more ancient and respectable authorities.

It appears that the Picts and Scots departed from the provinces, although they returned almost immediately to take possession of the island. [2] But whether they were only the Irish auxiliaries who returned home to their own dominions, or the Scottish colony which had settled in Albany, they soon afterwards joined their allies of Scotia and Caledonia. [3] The Scots were already making bold advances against the Britons. [4] Instead of being driven from their own dominions, they seem to have made considerable conquests in the northern parts of England, even after a second army of Saxons had come over under Hengist and Horsa. They penetrated even farther into the enemies' country than the Picts, who lived in the eastern parts of Valentia; extending their dominions as far as the Northumbrian wall on the Tyne, [5] since the Britons dreaded the invasion of the Scots and not the Picts. [6] So little ground have we, indeed, for believing in the expulsion of this people from their native country, that before this period, they had driven the inhabitants of England from its northern districts, and occupied the western parts of the country, which lay beyond the Fresic sea, or Solway frith, in the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. [7]

A. D. 449.

A. D. 488.

[1] Matthæus Westmonasteriensis; Fordun; vid. infra, et note N.

[2] Revertuntur domum Scoti, et non post multum tempus reversi Picti, cum Scotis, extremam Britanniæ partem primum, et deinceps inhabitandum detinent. Marianus Scotus, lib. ii. p. 347.

[3] Gildas, c. 19. p. 17.

[4] Vid. infra.

[5] Paulus Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 649.

[6] Nennius, c. xxxvii. p. 137.

[7] Saxones, et occupaverunt plurimas regiones trans mare Fresicum, i. e.

The Scottish colony which had emigrated from Ireland under its leader Reuda, maintained its settlement against the inroads of contending foes down to the eighth century.[1] The Scots continued in their primitive state, living under the law of nature, till Fergus was chosen their first king, and called to the throne.[2] They were not sent from their native country, nor brought back again from Ireland by Fergus, after a period of forty-three years; but enlarged their borders, after a signal victory, under the command of this brave chief, and his two brothers, Angus and Loarn,[3] who lived and died in Caledonia.[4]

The Scots, or "the impudent Irish spoilers,"[5] who had joined them on their predatory excursions against the Britons, left the provinces upon the eve of a battle with that people, where a considerable number of them fell, and went home for a time, but soon after returned.[6] The Britons could no longer expect any assistance from their old masters, and faithful allies, the Romans. They were now left to themselves; and from this little success which they had against the Scots, the ancient courage of the Britons began to appear, when they again left the forests, dens and mountains. But it was only as a momentary gleam, which for a little revives a mind, enervated by sla-

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quod inter nos Scotosque, usque ad confinia Pictorum. Nen. compared with P. Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 649; and Mar. Scotus, lib. ii. p. 347.

[1] Sibimet sedes, quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt. Bed. I. i.

[2] Gens Scottorum sub lege naturæ, sed sine rege, donec ad Ergadiam—Fergusius, &c. Chronicon Rythmicum. [3] Albanic Duan.

[4] Fergus-Mor Mhac Erchia, cum gente Dalriada partem Britanniæ tenuit, et ibi mortuus est. Tighernac Annal.; vid. Note N. Appendix.

[5] Impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum revertuntur, sed post non multum temporis reversuri. Gildas, p. 19, 20. Revertuntur domum Scoti. Marianus Scotus, lib. ii. p. 347.

[6] Tum primum inimicis; strages dabant.

very, and enfeebled by ease. The Picts and the Scots again returning, took possession of the extremity of the British island, which they continued ever afterwards to inhabit.[1] But the Scots, taking advantage of the wretched condition of the Britons, continued their incursions into that unhappy country, and were victorious in every battle. The Britons now despaired of ever gaining any assistance from the Romans. Being reduced, either by famine, pestilence, or the sword, to a small residue, they were struck with terror at a report, which seems to have transpired from the enemy, that they were to be extirpated from the country by that people.[2] Fearful lest this threatening should be put in execution, and knowing well the ferocity of their enemy, they invited over some squadrons of Saxons, to support their own king Vortigern, who seems hitherto to have taken no active part.[3]

The terms on which they supplicated the aid of the Saxons, if we can depend upon the authority, shew to what a pitch of slavish subjection the Britons had been reduced under the oppression of the Romans: "Most noble "Saxons, the wretched and miserable Britons, worn out by "the perpetual incursions of their enemies, having heard

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Marianus Scotus, lib. ii. p. 347. Britanni itaque, de quibus præmissum, cum rursus Scotorum Pictorumque incursionibus premerentur, mittunt Ætio epistolam lacrimis erumnisque refertam. Denique subactam Picti extremam ejusdem insulæ partem, eam sibi habitationem fecere; nec ultra exinde hactenus valuerunt expelli. Paulus Diaconus.

[2] Gildas, c. 20; Bed. lib. i. c. 15.

[3] At vero residui Britannorum, dum continuo Scotorum impetus formidarent, ultra jam de Romanorum præsidio diffidentes, Anglorum gentes cum suo rege Vortigerno ad defensionem suæ patriæ invitavere. Paulus Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 649. Placuit omnibus, cum suo rege Vortigerno in Saxonem gentem in auxilium volarent. Bed. lib. i.

"of the many glorious victories which you have obtained "by your valour, have sent us, their humble supplicants, "to implore your assistance and protection. We have a "spacious, beautiful, and fertile country, abounding in all "things, which we give up to your protection and com-"mand. Formerly we lived in peace and safety, under "the protection of the Romans; and next to them, know-"ing none more powerful and brave than you, we fly for "refuge under the wings of your valour. If, by your "powerful assistance, we become superior to our enemies, "we promise to perform whatever services you may think "fit to impose upon us." [1] The Saxons listened with plea-sure to such a favourable proposal; but although they de-lighted in war, and even surpassed the northern nations in ferocity, they were hardly a match for the undisciplined clans of the north. Not only had the intended conquest of Britain reached that terrified nation, and a council of war had been called by Vortigern, where all the petty kings of the empire assembled, [2] but the Saxons, toge-ther with the Britons, who had sent for their assistance, were also prepared to give them a warm reception on the Kentish shores, where they landed. [3]

Vortigern was the king of the Demetæ, [4] who lived in Britain. He was one of their principal monarchs, [5] al-though stained with many vices, [6] and invited the Saxons to the island. [7] He seems, indeed, to have been some-times invested with the chief authority in Britain, [8] before

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[1] Witichindus, a Saxon writer; vid. Dr Henry's Hist. Brit. p. 88.
[2] Gildas, c. 22, 23. [3] Nennius, c. 28; Saxon. Chronic. p. 12.
[4] Rex Vortigern, Nennius, c. 35, regnabat in Britannia, c. 28. Nen. c. 49. [5] Gildas, c. 23 [6] Gul. Malmesb. p. 8.
[7] Sax. Chronic.
[8] A. D. 427. The Chronology at the end of Nennius.

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the Romans had finally renounced all claim to it, but hitherto appears little in history.

The fifth century is remarkable for the triumph of barbarism over civilization. The Vandals overrun Spain with the rapidity of the pestilence, and were no less destructive.[1] The Huns wasted Thrace, Pannonia, and Illyricum, where many hundred thousand people were slain by these barbarians.[2] Attila completed what was already pending,—the subversion and destruction of the whole Roman empire;[3] and these savages, who believed that science tends to corrupt, enervate, and depress the mind,[4] thought that they branded an enemy with the most disgraceful, and contumelious appellation, by calling him a Roman.[5]

The Saxons, who had infested Britain with their piratical incursions, and who afterwards settled in the fertile provinces of the south, belonged to three nations, the old Saxons, the Angli, and the Jutes. The old Saxons, who were regarded as one of the most warlike tribes of this savage people, had extended their conquests in the fourth century to the banks of the Rhine,[6] and in the eighth, they lived in the same place on both sides of the Elbe, their boundaries reaching even to France.[7] The Angli, who were sometimes called Suevi,[8] had left the in-

[1] Idatii. Chron. ap. Biblioth. Patrum, vol. vii. p. 12, 38. edit. Lugd. 1617.

[2] Procop. Hist. Arcan. ap. Byz. Scrip. vol. i. p. 316.

[3] Vid. Conringius Opera, vol. i. p. 488.

[4] Procop. de Bell. Gothor. lib. i. p. 4.; apud Scriptor. Byz. edit. Venet. vol. i.

[5] Liutprandi Legatio apud Murat. Scriptor. Italic. vol. ii. part i. p. 481.

[6] Asser's Alfred. Wise, p. 39.

[7] Schminkius, c. 7. p. 44, 47; et Eginhard, vit. Charlemag.

[8] Ptolemy, lib. ii. c. 11.

land part of the country for the maritime dominions of the Sigulones, and the lower peninsula; and were bounded by the Jutes on the north, and the Saxons of the south.[1] The Jutes once resided on the southern shores of Scandinavia;[2] but amidst the revolutions which afterwards happened, they took up their abode in Germany, to the north.[3] The last of these nations, steering along the coasts of England, in their leathern transports,[4] on one of those piratical voyages, in 447, which they frequently made, received and accepted the invitation of Vortigern to assist the Britons against their northern enemies, and were already prepared for a sanguinary resistance.[5]

The Scots no sooner made their appearance, than the Saxons immediately gave them battle; and the former, although they at first seem to have had the advantage over the Saxons, if the victory was not doubtful,[6] appear to have retired somewhat before them.[7] Finding themselves, however, unable to withstand the mountaineers of Dalriada, the Britons sent over to the continent for Ochta and Abisa, two warlike princes, who, with fresh recruits of Saxons, hastened to their assistance.[8] It appears that the Scots, in these eventful struggles, had extended their boundaries over the northern part of the

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[1] Saxon Chronic. p. 13; Bed. lib. i. c. 15; Ethelwerd, 474, compared with Ptolemy, lib. ii. c. 11. [2] Ptolemy, p. 60, 61.

[3] Bed. lib. i. c. 15; Saxon Chron. p. 13; Ethelwerd, 474, compared with Ptolemy, lib. ii. c. 11.

[4] Sax. Chron. p. 13, 23; and Nen. c. 28.

[5] Nennius, c. 37. p. 137. Paulus Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 649.

[6] Gildas, c. 23. Primum agmine comperiens fuisse prosperatum. Bed. et Sax. Chron. p. 12. [7] Gildas, c. 19.

[8] Invitabo itaque filium meum cum fratrueli suo, bellatores illi sunt viri, ut dimicarent contra Scotos, et jussit ut invitaret eos, et invitavit Ochto et Abisa, xv. Olunlia &c.; Nenn. c. 37, p. 137.

Northumbrian kingdom, beyond the wall called Gual, since it was the Scots, and not the Picts, whom the Britons at this time feared. It would have been unnecessary to give to those Saxons, who lately arrived, the territories on the north-east side of the wall, which was made over to them,[1] unless that they might serve as a check to the rapacity of the Scots, and expel them from those possessions, which they had acquired by the sword.

The Angles the meanwhile listened with a willing ear to the request of Hengist,[2] who had already found a favourable reception from the Britons, and with a fleet of forty transports, Ochta his son, and Abisa his nephew,[3] landed at the Orkneys, which they laid waste.[4] When the Picts and Scots took possession of the Roman province of Valentia, before the Saxons came over to the assistance of the Britons, they retained the eastern part of that country, as a perpetual settlement.[5] Although they made some excursions from this part of their dominions,[6] yet they soon entered into an alliance with the Saxons, not to molest them.[7] Thus they gave up the prosecution of the war to their Scottish neighbours, as they had hitherto done for the most part from choice, but now from necessity. Great preparations had in the meantime been made on the part of the Scots. The conquest of the whole kingdom had been projected,[8] after the first body of the

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[1] Ita illis, regiones quæ sunt in aquilone juxta murum, qui vocatur Gual. Nen. c. 37. p. 137.

[2] Bed. lib. i. c. 15; Saxon Chron. p. 12. [3] Nennius, c. 37.

[4] Vastaverunt Orcades. Nen. ibid.

[5] Vid. supra. Nec ultra exinde hactenus valuerunt expelli. Paulus Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 649.

[6] Requieverunt, prædas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes. Bed. lib. i.; et Huntingdon, fol. 178.

[7] Tum subitò initio ad tempus fœdere cum Pictis. Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i.

[8] Gildas, c. 19, 20.

Saxons had arrived in the island.[1] But, although the Picts had perhaps co-operated with the Scots from design, they never lent any effective aid for this purpose.[2] The inroads of the Scots had been numerous, from the departure of the Romans, to the arrival of the Saxons, and their conquests extensive.[3] In the time of Theodosius, they had carried their predatory inroads even to the city of London,[4] and penetrated as far as Kent. The little battalion of the Jutes, who were quartered at the remote isle of Thanet,[5] went out with the British army against them. As they retired for a little upon the arrival of the second body of Saxons, who took up their head quarters at some island beyond the Fresic sea, either in Cumberland or Lancashire,[6] it is hardly possible that the Picts could have joined the Scots at that time, since they did not at first accompany them.[7] It was after some skirmishes with the Jutes, the first body of Saxons, who came over to Britain, that the Picts concluded an alliance with them; and this people could not, in the very next engagement which was fought, both with the Jutes and Angles, appear in the field against their new allies.

The Scottish clans were already spread over the fairest fields of England, and were reaping the fruits of their success. Victory had hitherto attended their arms, and they again gathered their scattered troops and marched out against the Britons, and their new ally from Germany.

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[1] A. D. 447.

[2] Ethelwerd and Malmesbury attribute this expedition to the Scots, and not the Picts, and the Britons only dreaded the Scots. Paulus Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 649; Nen. c. 37.

[3] Ac vero residui Britannorum, dum continuo Scotorum impetus formidarent. Paulus Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 649.

[4] Amm. Marcell. lib. xx. xxvii. [5] Nenn. c. 35. [6] Nenn. c. 19, 37.

[7] Nenn. c. 37; Ethelwerd and Malmesbury, supra, are opposed to Huntingdon, fol. 178, who says that the Picts as well as the Scots fought the second battle with the Saxons.

The military discipline observed at this time by the British and Scottish nations, seems to have been similar. The former, upon the departure of the Romans, arranged their troops in some respects after the practice of the Romans; and in others they followed the British mode of discipline; for the Romans always allowed their auxiliaries to make an attack in their own way.[1] The British armies were about this time usually drawn up in nine divisions, three in the front line, three in the centre, and three in the rear guard. But among the provincials, the cavalry, archers and spearmen were arranged after the Roman mode of disposing the troops.[2] The Scots had scarcely reached Stanford, which is situated about forty miles south of Lincoln, when they immediately engaged with the Britons and their Saxon mercenaries.[3] The Britons had, with a mistaken policy, assigned to the Saxons for their possessions one of the most remote islands of their dominions. The isle of Thanet was separated from the main land of Kent by a small estuary, and had a very commodious harbour, capable of containing any number of ships.[4] Of these advantages the Saxons soon availed themselves. As they could easily invite any number of adventurers to their retreat, without much danger of detection, the fresh detachment of troops which came over, uninvited, soon after from Germany, and joined their countrymen at this isle,[5] and the feelings of hostility

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[1] Vegetius, lib. ii. c. 2.

[2] Viris sagittariis et telorum jaculatoribus; equitibus, jure Romanorum dispositis, more Romanorum acies distincte advoverunt, A. D. 556.

[3] Inierunt certamen contra Pictos et Scotos, qui jam venerunt usque Stanfordiam, quæ sita est in australi parte Lincolniæ, distans ab ea quadraginta miliariis. Huntingdon, fol. 178.

[4] Solinus, c. 22, and Nennius, c. 37.

[5] Nenn. c. 35.; Gildas, Hist. c. 23.

which immediately broke out between the Saxons and their employers, [1] shew that these crafty mercenaries were not very zealous in the cause at the battle of Stanford. The Scots seem neither to have been beaten out of the field nor altogether successful; but as hostilities were immediately commenced between the Britons and the Saxons, who, in the same season, turned their arms against their own allies, and desolated Kent from sea to sea, [2] they appear rather to have gained than lost ground.

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[1] A. D. 449; Gildas, c. 23; Nenn. c. 36.

[2] Gildas, c. 24, 25, et Nennius, c. 36.

CHAP. III.

The political state of the Scottish nation.—Form of government democratical.—The clans in Gaul,—Britain,—Ireland,—Caledonia.—Their local situation.—Number.—The nature of Scottish colonization.—The independence of settlers.—The formation of clans.—By the natural state of the country.—The intercourse of individuals.—Antiquity.—The chief.—His authority,—Limited.—The first notion of property.—Agriculture.—Improved by the Romans and Anglo-Saxons.—Diversity of interests.—Effects of Christianity, in strengthening society.—Dependencies.—King.

We are now come to that period of Scottish history, when monarchy became the national form of government. It may not therefore be altogether useless, or uninteresting, to take a retrospective view of the British Scots before the year 503, and investigate some of the causes, which led to the change, which at that time took place. Although we have no direct account, in regard to the form of government among the ancient Scots, before the accession of Fergus, son of Erch, to the throne, yet it may be proved, from the condition of that people, compared with the state of Ireland and Gaul, from whence they had their origin, with Britain and Pictland, two neighbouring nations, that their constitution was originally democratical. A democratical form of government must always be defective. Of this we cannot meet with a stronger instance than among the Britons, who, by disunion among themselves, were at first conquered by the Romans, and from

want of energy and decision, became, upon the departure of this people, the prey of the Scots and Saxons. Such a decided mastery, however, as the Scots and Picts possessed over their northern neighbours, must have principally arisen, from that degeneracy, which gradually took place among the Picts, after the settlement of the Romans in Britain. The Picts always accompanied the Scots on their expeditions; and so powerful were the confederated clans among them, that as early as the second century, they had changed their monarchical form of government into a democracy.[1]

Upon the distribution of labour and property, and the care of defence, is every species of government founded.[2] In a state, where the idea of property is distinct and precise, it is hardly possible, before the institution of monarchy, to prevent aristocratical power from gradually gaining an ascendancy. The natural independence of the people, both from the nature of things, and a sense of preservation, must then be necessarily subjected to the power of the chieftain. But this was by no means the case with the Scots, upon the first settlement of their colonies in Caledonia. Trained up in the exercise of hunting and fishing, they contended for their subsistence with the carnivorous animals of the forest,[3] and roamed perhaps from one fertile spot to another, seeking pasturage for their flocks and herds. They had no system of laws. Nature, custom, and accident suggested the line of conduct to be pursued, in their civil and domestic duties. The heads of families, or those who were crowned with wisdom and valour, were regarded with obedience and respect, and always honoured with a pre-eminence by their country-

[1] Dion Cassius, Xiphilin. [2] Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum. [3] Hieronymus ad Jovian; vid. Heron's Hist.

men. If any number of these happened to join themselves together in war or in hunting, and acquired friends or followers, either from respect, or from a rude kind of hospitality, the neighbouring clans or families would sink insensibly into dependence before this distinguished band; or if any of them separated from their neighbours (for their union was voluntary, without restraint or obligation,) and joined themselves to others, a number of petty clans would naturally be formed. These generally continued to vie with each other by bravery in the field, and skill in the chase, till that union, which originated in choice, had become permanent, from a similarity of sentiment, domestic endearments, a principle of habit, which reconciles the most opposite conditions, the natural situation of the country, and many other circumstances which it is unnecessary to notice.

The southern part of Britain consisted of seventeen communities or states.[1] It appears from the confederacy formed by these, that Cassivelaun was chosen general of the allied army, though Cæsar's success occasioned afterwards a defection among the confederates, six of whom submitted to his authority.[2] These petty states seldom joining in the common cause, and rarely uniting to repel the enemy, thus allowed themselves to become an easy conquest to the Romans.[3] We do not deny that Gildas and Bede[4] are both agreed, that they set up kings, which were at that time numerous in the island,[5] and deposed them at pleasure. But this could only happen from a

[1] Ptolem. Geogr. Europ. Tab. 1.
[2] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. v.
[3] Tacitus in Vita Agricolæ.
[4] Gildas, p. 16, 17.; Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 13.
[5] Fert populos regesque populorum. Mela.

confederacy of some of the more powerful states; and only shews what an efficient engine the aristocracy had become, which was gradually verging to a permanent monarchy.

Agricola, in an expedition towards the close of the first century, passed through the dominions of many nations in Caledonia, till then unknown.[1] These, at this time of imminent danger, sent their various forces to act in concert for the safety of the whole, under Galgacus, a leader of talent and personal valour. The northern part of Britain was divided into eighteen independent states;[2] and Ireland consisted of a number of petty principalities.[3] In the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century, the Irish differed little in their manners from the Britons,[4] and were a rude and wandering people.[5] In the time of Solinus,[6] who lived in the third century, they are characterized as a barbarous, inhospitable and warlike race,[7] probably because by that time the Scots were settled in Ireland.[8] Tacitus observes, that he had often heard Agricola say, that with a single legion, or few auxiliaries, Ireland might be easily conquered, and subjected to the Roman empire, so little were its inhabitants inured to arms before the principal Scottish colonies made their settlement in that country. The Scots being the most powerful body of men in Ireland, were looked upon as a race superior to the rest of the inhabitants, who seem to have been held in subjection by them. In the fifth century, they are distinguished as

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[1] Tacitus in Vit. Agricol. [2] Ptolem. Geogr. Europ. Tab. i.
[3] Ibid. contained in the Palatini MS.; Tacitus, p. 238.
[4] Tacitus, ibid. [5] Dispersa et rudes. Solinus.
[6] Who is placed by some in the second, and by others in the third century. Solinus, c. 36, p. 62, edit. Basil, 1538. [7] Solinus, ibid.
[8] Vid. supra, and the Itinerarium of Richard for the settlements of the Scots in Ireland at an earlier period.

the grandees of the country.[1] Such was their pre-eminent ascendency over the other inhabitants of Ireland, and the distinguishing privileges of their race, that each appears to have lived as a petty chief; for Scots and princes were, in that barbarous age, accounted synonymous terms.[2]

The country of the Gauls, who, in language, customs and religion, were the same as the Scots, from whom the latter were descended, consisted, in the first century, of fifty states or republics.[3] It was managed by the nobility and clergy, the commons or vassalage possessing no share in the administration of public affairs.[4] But these states were again divided into families or tribes, the heads of whom directed the affairs of their respective clans.[5] Not only were the neighbouring nations of South Britain, and the Picts, with whom the Scots were always on terms of alliance, divided into small communities, which had each its chief; but even the Irish, from among whom their principal colonies emigrated to North Britain, and the Gauls, from whom they were originally descended, adopted the same practice. The Scots, who agreed with these nations in civilization, customs and habits, could not be at variance with them in their form of government, which takes its rise from such circumstances as these; and, indeed, the resemblance was very striking.[6]

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[1] Filii Scotorum et filii regulorum. Confessio St. Patric. apud Bolland. ad 17. Mar. n. 18, et Epist. ad Croticum, n. 6.

[2] The difference between the authority of the Scot and the Hyberionæ, is considerable. M. de Tillemont, in Eccl. Hist.; Vit. St. Patricii, tom. 16, p. 483; Reguli et Scotti; confessio St. Patricii, et Epist. ad Croticum; vid. supra.

[3] Cæs. lib. vi. [4] Cæsar, ibid.

[5] M. de Tillemont, in Eccl. Hist.; Vit. St. Patricii, tom. 16, p. 483; compare Confessio St. Patricii apud Bolland. ad 17. Mart. n. 18, et Epist. ad Croticum, n. 6, with the former observations.

The territories of the ancient Scots were not at first very extensive; but if we allow them to be as large as Argyleshire in its present state, with the islands attached thereto, we have, among the eighteen tribes into which North Britain was divided, part of four in Dalriada alone, the Epidii, Cerones, part of the Damni, and the most of the Gadeni. It is generally agreed upon, that the Epidii inhabited Kintyre, the southern part of Argyle, and the Cerones its northern district, together with Lochaber, being only two small tribes. But various have been the opinions respecting the situation of the Damni and Gadeni. Some have placed the latter in the counties of Merse and Lothian; others on the western side of the Damni, north of the Frith of Clyde. A certain modern writer [1] seems to confound the Damni with the Gadeni, by assigning to both the same district, Dumbartonshire. The Damni are said to have inhabited Renfrew, Lanark, Linlithgow and Stirling shires, with the northern parts of Ayrshire; and the Gadeni, Dumbarton. [2] It is a circumstance well known, that Ptolemy's north corresponds with our west. If we suppose the Damni to have inhabited that part of the country, the Gadeni, who, according to Ptolemy, were rather situated to the north, that is the west, [3] would be neighbours to the Epidii, instead of the Damni. But we know that they were adjacent to the Epidii, lying in a south-westerly, that is, according to the present geography of the island, a south-easterly direction. [4]

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[1] Mr Maitland, vol. i, p. 139, 140. [2] Pinkerton, vol. i, c. 2.

[3] Γαδενι δε αρκτικωτεροι. Ptol. Geogr. Brit.

[4] Μετα δε τοις Δαμνανους προς αγατολας αρκτικωτεροι μεν, απο τε Επιδιου, ακρου ας (or ως) προς ανατολας. ΕΠΙΔΙΟΙ. "Post Damnanos, versus "solus ortum, magis septentrionales, quasi ab ortum; vergentes ab Epidio "promon. Epidii aunt." Ptolemæus.

If, then, the Gadeni be supposed to have been situated in the north-eastern part of Argyleshire, and the Damni in the shires of Stirling, Lanark, Renfrew, the greater part of Ayrshire, Dumbarton and the southern part of Argyleshire, as far west as Loch Fyne, all these difficulties will be obviated. The Epidii will be relatively situated "after the Damni;"[1] the Gadeni rather to the north of them;[2] and the Epidii at the Mull of Kintyre,[3] in a north-eastern direction in respect to the Damni.[4] But all these situations are marked according to the erroneous chart of Ptolemy, which changes the west into the north.[5]

The Scots, before the middle of the fifth century, extended their dominions to the south as far as Stanford, on the borders of Northamptonshire; and within these boundaries many distinct tribes were comprehended. Among other parts, the Coritanni occupied Lincoln and Nottinghamshire, and that division of Yorkshire which lies south of the Don.[6] The province of Maxima Cæsariensis[7] comprehended three large tribes,—the Voluntii, the Sistuntii, and the Brigantes. The Voluntii lived in Cumberland, the northern districts of Westmorland, and other parts, which never belonged for any length of time to the Scots. The Brigantes possessed Durham and Yorkshire southward to the Humber and the Don.[8] Northumberland was occupied by that part of the Ottadini, who were conquered by the Scots, together with the more northern regions in Berwick, Haddington and Edinburgh

1. Post Damnios.
2. Magis septentrionales.
3. Epidio prom.
4. Solis ortum magis septentrionales: Ptolem.
5. Huntingdon, fol. 178.
6. Richard's Itinerarium, Iter. 4, 18.
7. Richard's Itinerarium, ibid.
8. Ptolemy, Geogr., and the Lat. Itinerarium of Richard, p. 27.

shires, which were held by the same tribe who lived in subjection to the Picts.[1] The Damni not only inhabited the north-eastern districts of Argyleshire, where the first colony of Scots who came over from Ireland settled, but also Lanark, Renfrew, the greater part of Ayr, Dumbarton and Stirling shires,[2] the rest of which were occupied by the Novantes.[3]

Thus the dominions of the ancient Scots were divided into numerous distinct tribes, which had each its own government and laws.[4] This division of the country into small states seems to be peculiar to the first stages of civilization. Loarn, Fergus, and probably Angus, whose son Murdach held the island of Ilay, possessed separate divisions of the country before it was united under one monarchy,[5] a circumstance which accounts for the aristocratical form of government so prevalent at that early age. The kingdom was principally formed by an original few, who came over from Ireland with Riada, and a gradual accession of auxiliaries who passed into North Britain, either to assist their countrymen against the southern Britons, or for the sake of plunder. These, as we have already seen, were partly induced to remain.[6] The Scots came in upon the Epidii, the western,[7] that is the southern Cerones, the Cadeni, and part of the Damni, all ancient inhabitants of Ergadia. Being in all probability the stronger party, as we hear no more of these people, they took possession of the land, not by dividing it into distinct portions, but by enjoying a freedom, every one of hunting or pasturage, either as a recompense due to his

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[1] Ptolemy, Geograph.
[2] Ptolemæus.
[3] Albanic Duan.
[4] Ptolemæus.
[5] Ptolemy, Geogr. Brit.; vid. supra.
[6] Tacitus.
[7] Gildas, c. 12, 13; Beda, lib. i.

valour, for assisting the Picts and Scots in their expeditions, or as a settlement acquired by his own sword.

The most warlike nations always enjoy the greatest degree of personal freedom and independence. The ancient Germans, a warlike race of men, whose barbarous swarms overran the whole Roman empire, were at liberty to choose, whether or not they would join themselves to any military enterprise.[1] Clovis, the founder of the French monarchy, entreating, before a division of the booty was made, that they would give him, over and above his share, a vase of extraordinary size and beauty, was answered by one of those fierce and haughty soldiers of the Franks, who made the conquest of Gaul, as he struck the vase with his battle-axe, in the utmost fury, "that he should "receive nothing here, but that to which the lot gave him "a right."[2] The Caledonians[3] and the Scots,[4] who withstood the united force of the Romans and Britons, nearly for five centuries, enjoyed the highest degree of personal liberty. It is hardly possible that the great body of the Scots and Attacotti, who were denominated a warlike race of men,[5] whose armies were composed of men of various interests, could be entirely under the control of the chieftain. In the fourth century, we know that they were a wandering tribe, and had no fixed abode.[6] And it is highly improbable, that these roving adventurers from Ireland, who acknowledged no other superior than what is usual among a band of robbers, and who enjoyed so

[1] Cæs. lib. vi. c. 23.

[2] Gregory Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. c. 27, p. 70. Paris. 1610.

[3] Dio. lib. xxvii.

[4] Gildas; Bed. lib. i.; Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. ii.

[5] Ammian. lib. ii. Bellicosa hominum natio.

[6] Scotti per diversa vagantes. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxvii.

much personal influence and respect in Ireland,[1] would join a wandering nation upon any other terms than those of free possession.

When nations, subject to despotical governments, make a settlement, either by conquest or otherwise, it serves only to extend the power and the dominion of their master. But armies composed of individuals, some of whom serve for pleasure, others for plunder, and all voluntary, which was the case with the Scottish army that joined the Caledonians,[2] such armies conquer for themselves, not their leaders. This loose association, however, which hardly diminishes their personal independence, cannot long remain sufficient for their security. They are under the necessity of relinquishing some of their native rights to preserve their liberty entire; for the petty subject may become more jealous of a more potent master, but both are obliged to quash their animosities, and unite against the common enemy. This union, arising from a state in which every individual was at perfect liberty, unless what restriction arose from a voluntary submission in the time of war, would naturally confirm the authority of the leader, or father of the clan, and extend his influence to the civil jurisdiction of the family or tribe, over which he presided.

But perhaps one of the strongest reasons for concluding that such a union subsisted among the ancient Scots, was the natural state of the country. It is well known that the Highlands are divided into a number of straths or

[1] Confessio St. Patricii apud Boland, ad 17. Mart. n. 18, et Epist. ad Croticum.

[2] Vid. Gildas, c. 12; Beda, Hist. Eccles. lib. i. That these were the views of first settlers, which also is evident from their rank among the Irish. Confessio St. Patricii.

glens, separated from each other by rivers, lakes and mountains. Each of these, called by the natives a country, was formed not by imaginary, but natural boundaries, and in process of time separated the community into different, distinct and independent tribes. It is but natural to suppose that they had huts or habitations. To these they resorted at least during winter, [1] to shelter them from the cold; for the inclemency of the weather, and even the rude conveniences that they enjoyed, required it. These huts in each strath or glen were removed at a distance from each other; [2] and the mutual intercourse of the inhabitants with their immediate neighbours, who, from their vicinity, might form a closer connection with them, was comparatively little. They wandered from mountain to mountain, and from one fertile spot to another, [3] during the summer season, and returned to their huts in winter.

The independence of a tribe, composed of those families which were brought together by chance, and perhaps subjected to the counsel and command of those most experienced in wisdom, and valour, in times of danger, was thus preserved, both by the manner in which they acquired their subsistence, and the natural state of the country. Had they wandered even from place to place, without any fixed habitation, but the natural shelter of the rocks, subsisting upon a few domesticated animals, and the wild game of the forest, the idea of self-preservation alone would have presented to them the utility and convenience of associating in bodies, as the savage inhabitants of other countries do at this day. In that

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[1] Dion Cassius, lib. xxxix.; Cæs. Comment. de Bell. Gall. lib. v.

[2] Tacitus, Vit. Agricol.; that is, their cities.; and Cæsar, lib. v.

[3] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxvii.

early period, when the Scottish allies came over to North Britain, they emigrated, we presume, in bodies from Ireland. It was neither safe nor convenient, when there was no regular established commerce, to come over the stormy and boisterous sea, between Ireland and Caledonia,[2] by individuals. If they were induced to settle, they must either have incorporated themselves with other tribes, and joined with these under the protection of a leader, chosen from among themselves, if they had not one already; or they must have taken up, what may be called their habitation, in some sequestered situation, removed from the rest, where they might in time of peace make hunting excursions, or acquire the necessaries of life by a rude kind of husbandry, according to the manner of living practised at the time of their settlement.

It is evident from the long continuance of clanship, that its establishment had taken place in Scotland at an early period. It was not till long after its institution, that the chief began to be considered as the father of those families which composed the clan. They had been gathered together by accident, and preserved in this state by the straths and lakes of the country, and the mountains, those natural bulwarks of their liberty, which led to the maintenance of this order of things, till the knowledge and recollection of their primitive association had been lost. The attachment between the chiefs and the clansmen among the Britons, was, in general, so great, that they never left him, even in the greatest extremity.[3] Among the Gauls, it was accounted criminal to desert their chiefs in distress.[4] When the chief of a clan died, or became

[1] Claudian de Laud. Stilich.; Bed. lib. i. [3] Solinus, c. 35.
[2] Cæsar's Account of Litavicus.
[4] Quibus (clientelis) nefas more Gallorum est, etiam in extrema fortuna, deserere patronos, Cæs. p. 155.

infirm through old age, the bravest and wisest, and not the eldest of his sons, succeeded him. When quarrels and death ensued among a family, or its adherents, no formal judgment or punishment was thought necessary. There was as yet no acknowledged public head, no general laws for the protection of private liberty, no known or common interest to pursue,[1] besides that of self-preservation, from the common enemy, which, in times of danger, called for an undivided union among all the clans.[2] Every private quarrel was left to private redress, or perhaps an appeal was made to the Druids, who, armed with the terrors of futurity, had succeeded in arrogating to themselves an authority, not yet claimed by the chiefs.[3]

The ancient Scots were, however, unavoidably taught by the Romans new arts and conveniences, of which they were formerly altogether ignorant. By rapine, or by barter, they may have possessed themselves of articles manufactured, or brought hither by the Romans. They certainly acquired some definite notions about the art of husbandry, and the proper management of cattle, which was known among the Picts in the time of Agricola,[4] common to the Britons in general, in the second and third century,[5] and known to the Scots, if not in the first, at least in the fourth.[6] The spoils which the Scots and Picts gained by their numerous inroads among the Romans and southern Britons,[7] were their cattle, their

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[1] Hearne's edition of Fordun, vol. i. b. 1, sect. 2, p. 76.

[2] Vid. Tacitus, Annal. [3] Cæs. lib. iv. 3, Plin. and Lucan. [4] Dio.

[5] Mela, lib. iii. c. 6; vid. etiam Cæs. p. 88; Amm. Marcell. lib. 27, c. 8; Gildas, c. 17, 20.

[6] The Scottish pottage; Hieron. ad Jovian. [7] Bed. lib. i.

clothes, their armour, and implements of husbandry;[1] and however much they detested their modes of life, they were yet insensibly led to imitate them. When their spoils were exhausted, their attempts at acquiring more rendered impracticable, or their expeditions less fortunate, they would naturally supply from industry and ingenuity, what they could not gain by force. Thus the new notions of property which were formed, the habits of industry, prudence, and parsimony, which they acquired, together with the desire accompanying them, and the union and subordination which their continual contentions with the Romans, in securing booty, naturally occasioned, could not fail of producing a marked difference in the face of society.[2]

From their intercourse with the Anglo-Saxons, with whom they were on terms of alliance, soon after their arrival in Britain, these nations were insensibly improved. This people, who had not only flocks and herds, but were likewise practised, together with the Caledonians, in the rearing of corn, and some of the more simple arts,[3] contributed no doubt to the civilization of the Scots; for before the fifth century, the knowledge of the latter in agriculture was considerable.[4]

Christianity, which was introduced about this time,[5] immediately before that period, in which the Scots are erroneously said to have fled into Ireland, had, together with other favourable circumstances, a manifest effect upon the barbarous customs, and irregular habits of that

[1] Amm. Marcell. lib. 27, c. 8; Gildas, c. 17.

[2] Hearne's edition of Fordun.

[3] Tacitus de Mor. Germ.; Diodorus Siculus.

[4] Hieronymus ad Jovian. ii.; vid. supra.

[5] A. D. 431. Josephus; vid. Hegesippus de Excidi Hierosolym. lib. v. c. 15, who says, that Scotia was at that time the name of North Britain.

people. It contributed, in some measure, even about the beginning of their monarchy, to give to their manners and customs the appearance of a regular polity. The religion of the ancient Scots, before the introduction of Christianity, could neither correct their customs, nor refine their moral sentiments. It gave a powerful sanction to those principles which already prevailed, and rather tended to stamp deeper the impression of their native barbarism. Though Christianity breathed a nobler spirit than the ancient Druidical superstition, it appears to have lost as much in the generous sentiment of the barbarian, as it gained in the correctness of his moral principles. The love of liberty, which actuated the ancient Scots at this time, seems rather to have stimulated to an abhorrence of industry and good order, than to those lawful pursuits which occupy the attention in modern times.[1] They made their first acquisitions of the more elegant conveniences of life by rapine and plunder,[2] and enjoyed them without having "paid the price of intelligence and "labour." Thus, that industry, which binds society together, by the reciprocal wants and necessities to which it leads, and those habits of virtue which naturally arise from it, had not yet taken the place of force and fraud, which still continued to be the standard of their morality. Justice was "the measure of private retribution," instead of the guardian of public order. That notion of right, which is peculiar to a remote period of history, and anciently prevailed all over the world, seems to have been general among the Scots.[3] Conviviality, instead of

[1] Vid. Hearne's History.

[2] Amm. Marcellinus, lib. xx. xxvii. xxix.; Bed. lib. i.; Gildas, p. 12, 20; Claudian de Laud. Stilich.

[3] Gildas, c. 16-20.

being tempered by moderation, and adorned by that social order and generous flow of the soul, which marks the true spirit of improvement, was riotous. Religion was too little understood to bear upon the general character of the people. But the time was now at hand, when every separate community was to receive its proper form and privileges.

Upwards of a century before the Romans took their final leave of Britain, their empire was either distracted by internal disturbances, or the irruption of the barbarians;[1] and by these means, an easy access was offered to the predatory excursions of the Picts and Scots. But after they had quitted Britain, the Scots had to encounter the Saxons, a more formidable enemy. As they carried on a more protracted war with this people, than they had hitherto been accustomed, and had advanced as far as the precincts of the city of London, it is evident that they must have become acquainted with the modes of life peculiar to a more advanced stage of civilization. Art and ingenuity continued thenceforth to supply, what force could not accomplish. The efficacy of these events, which marked the history of the ancient Scots, the influence of their local situation, and the effects of Christianity, though blended with superstition, operating upon the natural inequalities of the power of man, which usually give the first modifications to civil society,[2] insensibly united the Scots by a closer tie. The moral faculty, which before was but little attended to, now began, though feebly at first, to regulate the secret principles of action; together with the fear of punishment, which was

[1] Zosimus, lib. iv. c. 11, 13; and Speid's Chronic. p. 280.
[2] Hearne's Edition of Fordun.

annexed to the commission of certain offences, for the protection of civil union.

When the clans were yet hunters, there was no division of the Caledonian forest;[1] nor was it required, unless for the use of their flocks. After peace, however, began to prevail, the attention to be turned to agriculture, and dependencies were formed, a division of land was found to be absolutely necessary with the ancient Scots. In some instances the labour might be common; but the equitable and more convenient arrangement, to which the dictates of Christianity, lately introduced, gave their powerful sanction, must soon have been adopted. The ties which bind man to man were now multiplied and strengthened; the distinctions of rank were increased; and at last a head was found more expedient, than an aggregate of independent chiefs, in order to give unanimity in design, and facility in execution to this complex body.

[1] For they wandered through the woods; Hieronymus ad Jovian.

CHAP. IV.

Fergus I. son of Erch, the first king.—Union of Loarn with Argyle.—Angus.—Domangard.—Character of the Scots.—Wandering tribes.—Gabran.—Gavelkind succession.—A battle with the Picts.—Gabran slain.—Progress of Christianity.—Conal.—Power of the House of Gabran.—Contest of Aidan and Duncha.—State of the nation.—Tenure, laws.—Allodial.—Beneficia.—Forfeiture of estates.—Religious feeling.—Inauguration of Aidan.—Assists Givenddolan, King of Stratclyde, against Rydderech.—His contests in Ireland.—The Council of Drumkeat.—Bards.—The fate of Aidan's sons.—State of Northumbria.—Aidan's success at Fethanlea.—Leithredh.—Micithorum.—Ancient mode of warfare.—Defeat of the Scots at Degastane.—Eochoid Beudhe.—The exile of Ethelfrid.—Connal Keir.—The victory of Arderan.—The alliance with Northumbria.—Battle of Fedhavin, in Ireland.—Fercar I.—Irish war.—Donald Brec.—Glenmoreson.—Irish alliance.—The progress of the English arms.—Subjection of the Scots to Northumbria.—Conal and Dungal.—Donal Duin.—Malduin.—Rising power of Loarn.—Murder of Domangard.—Assassination of Conal.—Fercar Fada II.—Defeat of Egfrid, and independence of Scotland.—The murder of Donal.—The ferocity of the people.—Cause.—Religious skirmishes.—Achy Rinneval.—Ambkellach.—Selvach.—Stratclyde defeat.—Easter.—Camps.—Ambkellach's escape from Ireland.—Character of the sept of Argyle.—Eochoid III.—French alliance.—Charlemagne.—Usurpation of Murdach.—Forai and Dungal.—Ravages of the Picts.—Defeat at Cunic Coirbre.—Aodhfin.

This important change in the political state of the nation took place after the Scots had established themselves in the plains of Northumbria, beyond the Humber. The race of Conary II. of Ireland, of whom Fergus

was descended, [1] had attained to that pre-eminence among the rest of the Scottish chieftains, which, in process of time, laid the foundation of the Scottish monarchy. For it is probable, during the continuance of the war with the Saxons, who had lately settled in England, that the Scots were less reluctant than formerly in admitting the superior pretensions of one family. [2]

If there is a little discrepancy in ancient authorities regarding the number of the Scottish kings, we give the preference to the Albanic Duan; not only on account of its antiquity, but because it is more conformable with the chronology of these barbarous times. [3] Fergus, son of Erch, and not Fergus, son of Ferchard, was the first Scottish monarch. The latter is the creature of imagination, who was never heard of in ancient times, till Fordun, the father of Scottish history, published the labours of many a fruitless day, spent in the laudable pursuit of seeking out our lost records. [4] The former, who is the only one found in ancient chronicles, which are of greater antiquity than the works of Fordun, was uniformly recognised as a son of Erch, and the first Scottish monarch. [5] He was a descendant of Conary of Ireland, from

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[1] Chronica Regum Scottorum ex Cod. MS. Colbertin. "The descendants "of Conary II, the gentleman, or mild king of Ireland, settled in Albany "among the Picts." A translation from the Gaelic of the Albanic Duan, Diceto and Fordun.

[2] Vide Note O. Appendix.

[3] Vide Note N. Appendix.

[4] Fordun. Scotichronicon.

[5] Fergus filius Erch, fuit primus qui, de semine Chonare, suscepit regnum Albanie. Chronica regum Scottorum ex Cod. MS. Colbertino. Fergus, filius Herch, primus in Scotia regnavit. Reg. St Andr. written A. D. 1251, before the destruction of our historical monuments. Primus in Ergadia Fergus rexit tribus annis. Hi cum predictis regnaverunt, tempore Pictis, quod tricentum quater octoque continet annos. His annis et tres debetis junxisse menses. Chronicon Scotum Rythmicum; which shews that this was the Fergus of the fifth century. Fordun himself allows him to have been the first. (Fergus filius Erch) tribus (ultimis) annis ultra Drumalbyn, hoc est ultra

whence the principal colonies of the Scots emigrated, and one of the offspring of Riada, the great founder of the Scottish nation. Riada and Fergus were descended from the same ancient family of Conary, who died in 220.; but the latter lived in the twelfth generation from Eacheid Riada. Of such antiquity is the ancient Scottish monarchs.

Fergus was crowned king in Ergadia or Argyle, the seat of the ancient Scots,[1] which was situated beyond Drumalbayn, a range of the Grampian mountains, that runs from Kincardine, between Perth and Argyleshire. Various have been the opinions respecting the proper epoch from whence we ought to date the commencement of Fergus's reign; and it is not easy, amidst these fables and conjectures, which have been accumulating for ages, to ascertain the truth. Some have dated the commencement of his reign in the year of our Lord 403.[2] Others have placed it a little later, in order to give him time to accompany Alaric the Goth to the sacking of Rome in 409.[3] But the true era commences very early, in the beginning of the pontificate of Symmachus,[4] about twenty years after the death of Ailil Mecl, king of Ireland, that is in 503.[5]

Dorsum Albaniæ, primus regum Scotici generis, regnavit. Fordun. Scotichronicon. Vid. etiam de Situ Albaniæ, Chronic.; Innes, ap. Andr. Winton's Chronic. in Bibl. Cotton. Nero, D. xi. lib. i. iii. fol. 30.

[1] Primus in Ergadia Fergus rexit. Chronicon Scotum Rythmicum.

[2] Fordun and Buchanan. [3] Boece. Vid. Innes.

[4] Sub initium pontificatus Symmachi, et ibi mortuus est. Tighernach Annal.

[5] Elan of Bute Synachronism, who lived in the fifth century; vid. Usher Antiq. Eccl. Alex. III. was the fifty-first king of the Scots; qui quinquagesimus regum fuit, ordine primus. Chronic. Scotum Rythmicum; the number of kings from Fergus son of Erch to that prince. Chron. Reg. St. Andr.; Chron. Regum Scotorum. There are only three generations from Aidan, (Lat. Listi, and Albanic Duin), who died A. D. 605, (Chron. Reg. Scot. Reg. St. Andr.;

Fergus had two brothers, Tenegus or Angus, and Loarn,[1] who enjoyed each a petty principality in Scotland.[2] Loarn was first appointed king over a part of Dalriada;[3] and the present northern district of Argyle, lying between Loch Etive and Loch Awe, corresponds well with the extent of this little kingdom, and bears to this day the name of its founder Loarn. The Scottish kingdom now received new accessions of strength, from the arrival of some colonies from Ireland. The three sons of Erch[4] seem to have been in Ireland together; and Loarn, who was sometimes known by the name of Lori, conducted a new colony of Scots into Argyle.[5] These three brothers, the grandsons of Achy, surnamed Munrevar, who flourished toward the end of the fifth century, extended their dominions after a signal victory.[6] They saw the distracted state of the Pictish empire, which had not been yet able to subdue that democratical spirit, for which it was so distinguished, in the time of the Roman dynasty, in the southern part of Britain.[7] Although the Picts had, by this time, placed a monarch on the throne, and transferred to him some of their democratical authority, his power was far from being absolute. For any one might have advanced his pretensions to the throne, if he had an arm powerful enough to maintain his authority. The Scottish monarchs observed this disunion, which arose

A. D. 503.

Chron., Latin verse; Chron. of Winton and Gray); to Fergus, or five kings, including the latter, which agrees with 503.

[1] Cum fratribus duobus, Loarn et Tenegus (Angus).

[2] Tighernac et Duan. [3] Albanic Duan.

[4] Tres filii Erch, scilicet, Fergus, Loarn et Tenegus. Chron. Rythmic.

[5] Lorimoth quidam primus ad Ergadiam, &c.; Chron. Rythmicum. Albanic Duan; quoted by Colgan and Ware, and to be seen in Pink. App. vol. ii. N. 2.

[6] Tacit. Annal. et Vit. Agric.

among the confederated chieftains of Caledonia; and preferring their future aggrandizement to that which arose from the little jealousies of rival states, with united arms they bore down upon the ancient Caledonians, proved victorious, and thus made some little additions to their limited dominions.

Loarn possessed the northern division of Dalriada, or the mainland, which still retains his name; and Fergus the southern part, denominated Kintyre and Argyle. The former, who held the reins of government with his brother Fergus, is said to have reigned ten years.[2] It is very improbable, however, that he should have reigned so long, since all the Scottish chronicles, except the Duan, together with the Irish annals of Tighernac, give Fergus a short reign, and are altogether silent with regard to that of Loarn.

The first husband of Ercha, the daughter of Loarn, was Murdach, the son of Neil, king of Ireland, to whom she bore Murecheard, who afterwards succeeded to the kingdom of Moen and Ferodach. Ercha, the widow of this prince, and the daughter of Loarn, was a second time married to Fergus, the cousin-german of her first husband, the son of Conal of Ireland; and Fedlem, the father of Columba, was the offspring of this union.

Of Angus little is known. Ilay probably was his part of Dalriada, since we find it possessed by his son-in-law, Murdach, the father of Murchert, who was king of Ireland in 513. Fergus, who was sometimes called by the Irish Fergus Mor Macmise, from Mise, his mother's name, seems to have been a prince of more enterprising parts than either of his two brothers. The epithet itself

[1] Albanic Duan; vid. supra. [2] Albanic Duan. O'Flaherty.
[3] Albanic Duan. Fergus.

signifies a warrior or brave man; and to an uncommon share of natural sagacity, he added much experience. He was eminently calculated to govern a rude and barbarous people. Besides his natural courage, which gave efficacy to those qualities, for which he was distinguished, he was more versed in civil policy, than most of his contemporaries. He united with the neighbouring princes of the Scottish empire, in extending the boundaries of the kingdom; but when Loarn his brother died, he wrested his petty state from his sons, and annexed it to his own dominions.[1] This prince did not however long remain to enjoy these new acquisitions. Although the record of the Dalriadic kings, preserved in the Duan, assigns him a reign of twenty-seven years,[2] he appears to have lived only three years after he succeeded to the united kingdom, for he was very old before he came to the throne.

There was now no nation of superior refinement in Britain, whose institutions might be viewed with envy or contempt, or whose opulence and enjoyments might be sought after by the ancient Scots. The Britons had lost almost all those Roman arts, of which, at the best, they had only been unintelligent workmen. Alike rude and barbarous were the Angles. They were more a match for the Britons than the distracted Romans, and had besides no monuments of industry and the arts, superior to those which they enjoyed themselves, to allure their rapacity.

[1] Albanic Duan.

[2] This MS. is more conformable to the genealogy of the neighbouring barbarous nations; yet as the bard appears not to have been in the way of reciting the number of years which each king reigned, and seems to have been bound down, in the detail which we have preserved in writing, to the harmony of verse, our old Latin chronicles, being encumbered by none of these disadvantages, appear far more correct in particular chronology. Fordun gives him a reign of sixteen years. Tighernac.

It does not appear that those mutual hostilities, which were even yet directed by relentless ferocity, were more numerous than they had formerly been; for Gildas, who lived about the same time, would have taken notice of them had they frequently occurred.

Domangard, the son of Fergus, succeeded him in the kingdom.[1] His reign was short but troublesome.[2] His father had grasped at universal monarchy, and succeeded in annexing to his own little kingdom, the small independencies of his two brothers. He died king of these united states, and left behind him the heirs of at least one of these alienated principalities.[3] The sons of Loarn saw with jealousy the fair kingdom of their father given to another; to a compeer also of themselves; and the troubles in which Domangard was now involved, during his short reign of four or five years,[4] if they did not originate in the discontent of a people, lately enjoying so much liberty, must have proceeded from this source. By Fedelma, the grand-daughter of Achy Magmedon, king of Ireland, he had two sons, Congal and Gabran, the former of whom succeeded his father in 511.

A. D. 506.

The Scots, from the period when they were first distinguished in history, were a fierce and warlike people.[5] When they were not employed in harassing the Romans, and southern Britons, or the Saxons, who had by this time settled in England, their restless spirit could not be at ease. They wandered over the mountains and glens of Caledonia,[6] as well as the fertile plains

A. D. 511.

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[1] According to the Duan, A. D. 506. [2] Albanic Duan.
[3] The family of Loarn afterwards succeeded to the Scottish kingdom.
[4] Albanic Duan. [5] Latin Tibs and Fordun.
[6] Gildas Historia.
[7] Scoti per diversa vagantes. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 27, c. 7.

of the south, seeking the game of the forest, and pasture to their flocks and herds. They had now established themselves firmly in the island, and were too much weakened and reduced by the recent wars in England again to take the field. The happy administration of Congal passed away in peace, and the Scots began from this time to deserve more the character of a civilized nation.[1] After a reign of four years,[2] twenty-two,[3] or rather thirty-four,[4] he left the kingdom to his brother Gabran.[5]

This prince took possession of the throne of his father A. D. 546. Domangard, without contest or bloodshed. He seems to have been a prince, who, from the amiableness of his temper, conciliated all parties, and succeeded in cementing together those divisions, which had so long distracted the nation.[6] Fergus had united the little principalities of Dalriada under one monarchy in the course of his reign. Although his successors continued to enjoy the privileges, which were conveyed to them by inheritance, the royal authority was too much disputed, to render the measures which were pursued, effective. Gabran succeeded his brother in the Scottish kingdom, not because he was his immediate and natural heir, since his own son afterwards ascended the throne, but because he was a powerful prince, and possessed influence enough to raise himself to that dignity. The gavelkind succession, which regulated the inheritance of private property, at this early period in Scotland,[7] as well as in most other

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1 Albanic Duan.
2 From the account of the Duan, and some of the old Latin chronicles.
3 Fordun. Scotichronicon.
4 Chronicon Rythmicum, and the Annals of Ulster.
5 He succeeded in the year 445.
6 He lived without reproach. Duan Albanic.
7 Regiam Majestatem.

nations, gave a severe check to all absolute proceedings, and formed the natural bulwark of Scottish liberty. However paradoxical it may appear, this mode of succession, which has a tendency in general to level all aristocratical authority, served at this period to strengthen it, and advance the influence of the aristocracy. But it was more to the fortuitous events of the times, than the general tendency of this law of succession, that this circumstance owed its rise. Domangard left to his sons a fair estate, which had been enriched by all the acquisitions which Fergus his father had made; and these being but two in number, succeeded to the whole, according to the succession of gavelkind, that is, the private property was equally divided between them. This usage could never directly affect the succession of the crown; for, according to their birthright, the Scottish monarchs always came to the throne, and Congal appears thus to have been the elder son. The same cause which led to the aggrandizement, and influence of the royal family; and those circumstances which raised the Tiernas or Barons to aristocratical power, weakened in the same proportion, that of the other chieftains. Unless we were to suppose, that the descendants of every private family at this time, exceeded not two in number; the two Scottish princes, who divided the royal estates among themselves, must have acquired, even at this early period, a pre-eminent authority over the rest of the tribes, and that decided influence, which, by succeeding events, was rather increased than diminished.

But with respect to their immediate enemies the Picts, it gave them a decided advantage. Although the Pictish monarchy was elective, and determined too by the female line, the race of Brude had established itself firmly on the throne, and stood in need of no support to make good its title. They were not ignorant of the state of the

Scottish empire. During the reign of a prince, who was jealous of his brother's influence, and high prerogative, Brude, the son of Milchmon, meditated an expedition against his highland neighbours,—when Albad, who afterwards fell, was put to flight, and Gabran their monarch slain, in 560,[1] after a reign of fifteen years.[2] He lived in peace with all parties, and gained such a character as few kings seldom merit. He died at last without reproach.[3]

It was towards the middle of this century that St Ciaran, Querin, or Quirinus, the father and founder of the monastery of Clen upon the Shenap, and one of the teachers of St Columba, converted the inhabitants of Kintyre to Christianity. His humble residence appears to have been in a cave near Campbelton, which even yet bears his name; and there is still extant a Latin hymn, addressed by him to St Columba, with a Gaelic prayer, ascribed to Cieran himself.[4] The parish retains his name, Cilceiran or Kilchirran; and the ruins of the same church, which was dedicated to this saint, are said to be seen in the centre of the principal burying-ground of the town and parish of Campbleton.[5] It was in this century

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[1] Tighernac, apud O'Flaherty. [2] Tighernac, and the Annals of Ulster.

[3] Albanic Duan. Respecting his reign, however, the chronicles of ancient times are by no means agreed. The Duan gives him a reign of two years; the Latin lists of twenty-two; the Annals of Tighernac, however, which put the death of Gabran, son of Domangard and Albad, in the year, A. D. 560, (Mors Gaurani filii Domangardii et Albadi, a Brudeo filio Milchionis, rege Pictorum, in fugam conversi. Apud O'Flaherty. Tighernac Annal. agrees with the annals of Ulster respecting the time of his death, A. D. 560, and assigns him a reign of fifteen years.

[4] It is preserved in a very ancient MS. lately discovered in Drummond Castle. Statistical Account by Dr Smith.

[5] An account of it may be seen in the Chartulary of the Abbey of Paisley, to which the church was annexed. He died in 548, in the 37th year of his age.

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that the Christian religion was principally introduced into Scotland. Michael and Coambghin,[1] to whom the names of two parishes were dedicated, appear to have laboured in planting the gospel, each in that parish, which, through gratitude, has retained his name.[2] These, with many other missionaries, succeeded in introducing the Christian religion, wherever they went.

Conal, the son of Congal, and nephew to Gauran, ascended the throne upon the death of his uncle. The Scottish kingdom now began to receive new accessions of territory, and to appear more interesting in the scale of nations. The Irish colonists, when they at first settled in Scotia, possessed on its western side, the islands of Jura and Ilay. Ptolemy, the earliest classical writer, that makes mention of this country, seems to have considered the peninsula of Kintyre and Knapdale, as united with these two islands; and forming the territory, which he calls Epidium, where they took up their abode.[3] St Columba, upon his arrival in Britain about this period, applied to Conal, king of the Scots,[4] from whom he received Hyona.[5] There he instituted that famous monastery, which became the retreat and the nursery of learning, during the Gothic ignorance, which prevailed all over Europe, upon the overthrow of the Roman empire,—an addition of territory

A. D. 560.

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[1] Pronounced Coivin, and translated Clement.

[2] "O Coivin, now with Archangels," Mss. of Drummond Castle. Of Michael, and Coivin, who seems to have been a pious man, some account is to be seen in the Sanctologies. Vid. Dr Smith's Account.

[3] Bed. lib. i. c. 1.

[4] Mors Conall M'Congail, anno regni suo 16, qui obtulit insulam Columcillam. Ulster Annal. et Tighernac.

which the Scots did not at first possess. From this noted seminary proceeded those monks and presbyters, who were again to restore learning;[1] and, in the meantime, propagated Christianity with great success among the Scots. But the labours of St Columba, who belonged to Ireland, were extended, not only to the instruction of the Scots in Britain, but also to the conversion of the southern Picts, from Pagan idolatry.

The two great families to which the Scottish crown of right belonged, which were both descended of Fergus, or rather Domangard his son, were now become so powerful, that neither was willing to yield to the other. Calbran, who had possessed influence enough to raise himself to the supreme dignity of the empire, upon the death of his brother Congal, had been adding new partisans to his house; but his son, still dreading the power of the rival family, allowed Conal quietly to take possession of his father's throne. Aidan, however, a descendant of the same family, disputed the matter with Duncha, his own cousin-german, when he would have succeeded to the kingdom of his father Conal I, who died after a reign of fourteen or fifteen years.[2] Duncha being prepared to make resistance, the contest was likely to embroil the nation in a civil war. Aidan pursued Duncha even at the point of the sword, and advanced with his followers to make good his title. Duncha no less willingly appeared at the head of a gallant army. The scene of contest took place in Kintyre, the seat of Congal's race, A. D. 575. where several skirmishes ensued. They met at last at Loro, where a decisive battle was fought; and Duncha falling in the engagement, together with many of

[1] Bed. lib. iii. c. 4. [2] Latin Lists. [3] Dunn.

Gauran's friends, Aidan took possession of the throne.[1] By this time a considerable alteration had taken place in the political state of the nation, since their change of democracy to monarchy; and we now observe what had hitherto been unknown, an open contest for the throne.

When no division of the country had taken place, and the possession of land was only temporary, the Scots were not, in consequence of this imperfect species of property, brought under any positive or formal obligation, to serve the community. But after dependencies had begun to be formed, and monarchy was established, military service became the condition on which they held their possessions. The chief, who continued at the head of the colony, had of course the largest proportion of land allowed him. Having thus within his power the means of rewarding past services, he could attach to his person and interest, adherents with a much more substantial fee, than either the Ambacti and clients of Cæsar, or the Comites of Tacitus could receive, by the presents or profuse hospitality of their leaders.[2] To afford protection to the community, and to join in any military enterprise, was now the terms on which they held their privileges and immunities. This condition, which was recognised only by tacit consent, was still, from the insecurity to which they were exposed by the public enemy, sufficiently binding, and deemed honourable, perhaps at first from choice, but latterly from necessity.

The retainers which the king and his officers gained, by parcelling out their lands, laid the foundation of that

[1] Bellum de Loro in Kintyre, in quo cecidit Domnall Mac Conail, Mac Congail, et alii multi de sociis filiorum Gauron, ceciderunt. Annal. Ulster, A. D. 575.

[2] Tacitus, c. 14, 15, 5. See the account of the feudal system below, where its rise and progress is minutely traced, among the ancient Gaelic Scots.

civil institution, which, in its best estate, cannot hide the seeds of corruption and disorder. This institution had from military service merely voluntary, advanced considerably in France, before the middle of the sixth century. Although the Franks, immediately after taking up their abode, were freemen, yet the obligation on the proprietors of land to take up arms in defence of the community, under the penalty of a considerable fine, seems to have been enforced, as early as the middle of the sixth century. Chilperic, who lived about that time, exacted a fine from certain refractory persons.[1] Although they possessed their property originally in the allodial form, and held of no sovereign; from the danger of being attacked by certain colonies of fierce and rapacious barbarians, and the factions of their own inhabitants, these individuals were forced to come under an obligation to defend the community, but had at this time refused.[2] Childebert, who succeeded upon his reign fourteen years afterwards, proceeded in like manner against others guilty of the same neglect.[3] It is no easy matter to ascertain the precise time when this change took place among the Scots. The arts and manners of savages being simple, and under similar external circumstances nearly the same, mutual intercourse soon wears off any slight peculiarity.

The Northumbrian Anglo-Saxons being in the neighbourhood of the Scots and Picts, the continual intercourse of the two nations, and their temporary subjection afterwards to the Northumbrians,[4] introduced among the Scots, a partial imitation of those laws and customs, by

[1] He began his reign A. D. 562. Jussit exigi bannos.
[2] Gregor. Turon. lib. v. c. 26, p. 211.
[3] Ibid. lib. vii. c. 42, p. 342.
[4] Beda, lib. iii.

which the inheritance of property was regulated among the Anglo-Saxons. The union of the two nations, and afterwards of the Stratelyde principality to the Scottish monarchy, extended the privileges of the crown. It is evident that lands were not at this period held at the will of the superior lord who granted them; but they must have been possessed under the second form, when they became hereditary, either during the incumbent's own life, or that of his son, as at that time in France.[1] Some considerable time afterwards, in the reign of Malcolm Canmore in the eleventh century, feudal tenure was granted by him to a number of English strangers, under all the formalities of feodisin, by written deeds, upon condition of feudal service. During the ninth, tenth, and the greater part of the eleventh century, in several provinces in France,[2] scarcely any mention of feudal tenure occurs in the deeds of that country; and it appears thus to have made as great progress in Scotland at this period, as in France.

Property in land had been slowly constituted by possession. The respective tribes or families had been guaranteed by the nation or prince, in the secure possession of those lands, which they held before they had been united under one monarchy. Estates were soon forfeited by rebellion; and these the monarch could reserve for himself, or bestow upon some subject, who became his immediate tenant at will, on condition of military and other services. Examples of this description are never wanting in an elective monarchy like that of the Scots; and must have been at this period of their history numerous. Aidan had a contested election with his cousin Duncha,

[1] A. D. 887; Mabillon, p. 556.

[2] Hist. Gent. de Langued. par D. D. De vice et vaissette, tom. ii.

many of whose noble adherents fell, and, consequently, must have subjected their estates to forfeiture.

The Christian religion had, by this time, a powerful influence on those principles of morality, which had been but ill defined, in the manners and habits of the Scots. Aidan was not satisfied with the title of royalty which he had acquired by the sword. He required also the sanction of religion; and to St. Columba he applied for unction. The saint, who entertained a high regard for Eaghan his brother, long delayed the ceremony, till at length, as the monk relates, something appeared to him in a vision for several successive nights, and charged him to do his duty. Columba immediately anointed Aidan king, and ever afterwards zealously supported his interest; and before he engaged in battle, the monks of Hyona were accustomed to meet, to pray for his success. Aidan was inaugurated by this saint, according to the ceremonial of the liber vitreus.[2] This benediction, which was pronounced either by a presbyter or a monk, was the most ancient form of regal inauguration, to be found in the annals of this country,[3] although the practice was very ancient.

Of all the Scottish kings, Aidan was the most renowned. The Duan denominated him king of the noble portion, and he certainly advanced the power and influence of the nation to a degree which it had not previously attained. Upon the arrival of Jutes, Saxons and Angles

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1 Defectio solis mane tenebrosum. Annal. Ulster. A total eclipse of the sun appears to have taken place in the morning about this time.

2 Adamnanus, Vit. St. Col. lib. iii c. 5. The cover of this book appears to have been encrusted with crystal.

3 Martine, a Benedictine, de Antiquis Eccl. Ritibus.

4 Vid. Pinkerton's Inquiry.

in the fifth century, after they had taken up arms against their allies and employers, a long and desperate war was carried on between the Britons and the southern parts of the provinces, and those of the north. The latter gradually yielded to the valour of the Saxon adventurers, and formed themselves into a distinct nation, called the kingdom of Stratelyde, or Cumbria, which was situated on the south-eastern side of the Clyde, between Scotland and England, [1] in the bishoprick of Glasgow. [2] Upon the death of Marken, king of Stratelyde, who banished Kentigern, the founder of this religious establishment, [3] there was a contest for the throne. Givenddolan, the friend of Merlin the Caledonian, solicited the assistance of Aidan, king of the Scots, against this state, to enable him to attain to the supreme dignity of Cumbria. Ryddérech the bountiful, who seems, among the first acts of his beneficence, to have restored Kentigern to his religious seat, [4] held at that time the reins of the Stratelyde government. Givenddolan and his confederate ally, the Scottish king, met Ryddérech on the height of Arderyth. This prince, according to the superstitious notions of these times, had previously applied to St Columba, in order to know if he should fall in battle; and being assured that he should never be delivered into the hands of his enemies, [5] he led on his men with great confidence and valour,—defeated Aidan,—and slew Givenddolan, the patron of Merlin, [6] who was also engaged in the battle. Aidan appears to have favoured Ryddérech, the son of Totaill, one of the Cumbrian

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[1] Inter Anglian et Scotiam. Inquisitio Davidis, p. 116.

[2] Chartulary of Kelso, No. I. [3] Joc. Vit. Kentigern. c. 22.

[4] Jocelin. Vit. Kentigern.

[5] Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. i. c. 15.

[6] Merlin Avallendu. Welsh Archæol. vol. i. p. 151; H. Lhyd. Comment. Ariolum, p. 42, edit. 1731.

princes of Stratelyde; and on this occasion he was stigmatized with the name of Aeddon Fradaug, "Aidan the perfidious."

Not discouraged with his former bad success in Cumbria, he now carried his arms into Ireland, where he engaged in several contests. In the year in which Congal, the son of Domnail, fell, and Cenelath, king of the Picts, died, he was engaged in the battle of Onc.[1] About two years afterwards, he extended his conquests over the Isle Manan, or Man,[2] which he annexed to the Scottish dominions.[3] Several circumstances contributed to Aidan's success. To an intrepid and fearless activity, he added prudence. He had not only fought his way to the throne, in the face of all opposition, but was not even then contented, till he had received the benediction of St Columba. In these days of gloomy superstition, it would have been dangerous to call in question the title of one anointed by St Columba, or any other saint, more especially when he imposed upon their ignorance, and confirmed it by a supernatural appearance. Thus he established himself at the head of an undivided community, in a way in which none of his predecessors had done before; and held out to a people, who made war their chief study, prospects of extensive conquest, which were endearing to their habits of life.

A. D. 579.

Aidan not only extended the local boundaries of the country, and carried its renown in arms across the northern channel to Ireland, and the western isles, but likewise abolished its dependence on the former. He attended that famous council held at Dorsum, or Drunkeat, in the diocese of Dere in Ulster, which consisted of kings, peers

[1] Annal. Ulster.
[2] Ulster Annal.
[3] Vid. O'Flaherty.

and clergy, who were invited by Aid, king of Ireland. At this assembly Aidan procured the remission of all homage done by the kings of Scotland to those of Ireland, probably because it was the parent country.[1] Columba interceded for the Irish bards, at the same time that he stood forth for the liberty of his country. This race of men, had drawn down the displeasure of Aid their sovereign, by the excessive flattery with which they accosted the great, and the satirical invective which they directed against those who were less liberal to them.[2] It was decreed by this prince, that the laureats or bards should be banished from the kingdom, and their discipline entirely abolished; but they were only exiled to Ulster, and Dalriada.

Soon after this period Eoganan, or Eugain, the son of Gabran, whom Columba would have anointed king instead of his brother, died.[3] Of Aidan's many sons, the greater part seem either to have come to a violent end, or at least to have fallen the victims of his battles. Baetin and Domnan were strangled; and Domangard is said by some to have fallen in the battle of Kirkuin, which was decided in 598, four years after his uncle's death, and one after that of Columba;[4] but by others he is said to have been slain in Saxonia or England.[5] Osman, the next son, was drowned, nineteen years after the death of Domangard.

Aidan being of a bold and enterprising spirit, and not pleased with the extensive conquests which he had made in Ireland, Pictland and the isles, and the numerous other

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[1] Adamnanus, Vit. St. Columb. Colgan Trias. Thaumaturg. p. 430-1.

[2] Codex Cluan. et Tighern. App.

[3] O'Flaherty. Adamnan, however, an author more deserving credit, because of the early period at which he lived, gives a different account, and observes that he fell in Saxonia, or England, at the battle probably of Northumbria. "Bellica in strage."

battles which he won, viewed with dissatisfaction the victorious career of the Saxons of England. About the time when Christianity was first propagated in the kingdom of Kent, Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, a brave and enterprising prince, made several incursions among some of the petty states of Britain, and forced the natives either to quit their country, or submit to the Saxons. Ida, in the middle of the sixth century,[1] with a formidable body of Angles, founded the kingdom of Deira and Bernicia, part of Northumberland, which had been inhabited by the Scots from the time that the Romans left the island; but being at a little distance from their countrymen, and opposed by numerous bodies of Saxons, they yielded up some part of their conquests to Ida. This prince first directed his course to the north. Cattraeth was one of his most fortunate battles;[2] he extended his conquests still farther, but the victorious Owein king of Strathclyde put a stop to his successful career in 549, after he had gained considerably on the Scots and Britons.[3] Such was the state of Northumbria, when Aidan, alarmed at the progress of Ethelfrid, determined to put a stop to his conquests, drew down an army, and joined the Britons at Strathclyde.

The Scots still retained most of the extensive conquests which they had made upon the departure of the Romans; and Northumberland, Durham, part of Cumberland, and most of Yorkshire, acknowledged their supremacy, until the formation of the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia.

[1] A.D. 547.

[2] Aneurin. Vid. Welsh Archaeolog. vol. i. p. 4, and Cambrian. Regist. vol. ii. p. 15, 17.

[3] Taliesen, Aneurin, his Gododin Merlin, and Llywarch. Vid. Welsh Archaeolog. vol. i.

Aidan had no sooner called together his trusty followers from their fastnesses, making altogether a great army,[1] than he joined himself to Malgon, who had equal reason to dread this adventurous enemy, Ethelfrid. These two princes went down together with their united armies, A. D. 584. against the Saxons, to relieve their countrymen. They met the enemy at Fethanlea, in the rocky district of Stanemore, on the eastern borders of Westmorland, which had not yet submitted to the Angles or Jutes, and there defeated the Saxons.[2] Satisfied that from this check to their progress the Saxons would give him no farther trouble for a time, Aidan retired again to the heart of his dominions in Argyle. But upon hearing of their warlike preparations, four years afterwards, and that they were again in motion, he renewed his confederacy with the Britons, gathered together a vast army,[3] and put them to flight a second time in the battle of Leithredh.[4] Pleased at this unexpected success, and acquiring new valour from the dangers which he had to encounter, this prince was victorious in another engagement, which was fought at Micithorum, with the loss of three hundred men. His success would indeed have been complete, had not the death of his two sons, Arthur and Eochod Find, who fell there, obscured the victory.[5]

Nothing is more apparent than the difference in the modern and ancient mode of warfare. With the ancients it was only a petty inroad, or incursion into the enemy's country. Their small stock of provision, and the difficulty of conveying it, precluded a war of any length; and

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[1] Cum immenso, et forti exercitu. Adam. Vit. Columb. lib. ii.
[2] Sax. Chron. p. 22; Ethelwerd and Florence. [3] Bed. Hist. Eccles.
[4] Annal. Ulster.; Adamn. Vit. Columb. lib. i. c. 8, 9; Tighernac.
[5] Ulster Annal.

unless their victorious arms yielded them a precarious subsistence on the spoils of their enemies, they were forced to retire for the sake of provision. Hostili-
A. D. 598. ties had now ceased for a considerable period between the Scots and the Saxons; but they were again renewed under Aidan. Success had hitherto attended his steps. He had humbled the Irish, and shaken off all dependance on that nation: he had proved victorious over the Picts, and conquered the isle of Man: he had put a stop to the fortunate career of the Saxons; but he met with a defeat at the battle of Kirkuin, and in this unfortunate engagement Domangard, another of his sons, was slain.[1] Aidan was now in the decline of life. Three of his sons had fallen in battle, and two more came to a violent end; and these things, together with his late defeat, preyed much upon his spirit, and rendered him less magnanimous in the field. The Scots
A. D. 603. enjoyed a little relaxation from their military avocations, during that period when the ambition of Ida remained in the south; but it was of short duration. Ethelfrid, a brave Saxon prince, came out against them, and encountered the Scots at Degastane, or Northumberland, where many of their brave sons had already fallen the victims of the battle. Theobald, a brother of Ethelfrid, was killed, and part of the army under his command routed. Aidan's army being defeated, put to flight, and almost cut to pieces, the Scots were for a long time discouraged from invading Northumbria.[2] Two years after this disastrous event, this brave prince, Aidan, died, in the advanced period of eighty, weighed down with age,

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[1] Adamnanus, Vit. St. Columb. lib. i. c. ix.; Saxon Chronic. p. 23.
[2] Tighernac Annal.
[3] Bede, H. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 34; Saxon Chronic. p. 24.

and oppressed with grief, at this severe check to his former success. He had swayed the sceptre, during a period of thirty years, and was buried at Kilcheran.[1] But if we may give credit to what is termed, in the saintly chronicles of these days, the accomplishment of a prophecy, he was cut off by Hoen, king of Strathclyde, in the battle of Straithcarmaic, where they are both said to have fallen by mutual wounds.[2] Aidan seems to have been a prince endowed with many of those qualities which are necessary to govern a rude people. Brave, enterprising, and generally successful in his measures, he added much to the glory of the nation. His wars were prudently undertaken, and his attacks, for the most part, successfully directed. But although his heart was warmed with those in-

[1] Chronol. Table of the Scottish Kings; vid. Innes, App. It is said in the Duan, that his reigned twenty-four years. According to O'Flaherty, from 574 to 606, thirty-two years. The Annals of Ulster, Fordun, and the Chronology of the old Latin Lists, place his death at the year 605, and thus assign him a reign of thirty years. The battle of Loro, where the contest for the kingdom was decided, was fought, as is acknowledged, in 575; but perhaps the Annals of Ulster date its commencement from the time of his unction by Columba, which was long deferred. This date agrees with two of the old Latin Lists, which give him a reign of thirty-four years, for it is quite incompatible to reconcile this delay, as has been attempted by Mr Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 113, with the account of the Duan, which cuts off ten years from his reign, for the sake of unction by a priest, after he had made good his title by the sword; and that too at a period, when the warlike situation of the prince would have naturally led him to aspire to the immediate possession of the kingdom. But from the difference in authorities, the Chronic. Regum Scotorum, and the Reg. St. Andr. giving him a reign of thirty-four, the Chron. Rythmicum and the Albanic Duan twenty-four, and the Annals of Ulster thirty, an intermediate number between them, together with the agreement of the Reg. of St. Andr. and the Annals of Ulster in placing his death at 605, and the disagreement of the rest, we must extend his reign at least to thirty years.

[2] Adam. Vit. Columb. lib. iii. c. 5; Colgan Triad. p. 383; Ulster Annal.

dependent notions of liberty, which too seldom direct the councils of kings, it was not of that selfish kind which forms the basis of all absolute proceedings. He felt as a man the privileges which belonged to every rank of society, and as a monarch, the rights to which the guardian of public order is entitled.

One of the youngest of his sons, Eochan Bui, or Eochoid Buidhe, "the yellow-haired Hector," became his successor in the kingdom, and entered upon his reign in A. D. 617. 605. The defeat of Aidan by the Northumbrians was not long remembered by the Scots. A thirst of revenge soon gave way to hospitality; and we find that the seven sons and daughters of Ethelfrid, when driven from Northumberland by their unnatural uncle Edwin, were kindly received and entertained by Eochoid Buidhe and the Picts.[1] The sons of Ethelfrid, with a great company of noble youths, who lived in a state of exile among the Scots and Picts, were instructed in the doctrine of the Scottish church, and received the ordinance of baptism.[2] Bede has left it somewhat uncertain, whether these Saxons took up their abode among the Picts, or Scots,—although they appear to have lived at the Scottish court, and were kindly entertained, not only by the reigning monarch, but afterwards by Donal Brec, king of the Scots.[3] King Oswald, a few years afterwards, received a friendly welcome from the same people, toge-

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[1] Bed. lib. iii. c. 1.

[2] Tempore totoque regnavit Aduini, (Edwin); et cum magna nobilium juventute, apud Scotos sive Pictos exulabant, ibique ad doctrinam Scotorum catechizati, &c. Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. 1.

[3] Ebba virgo, Oswaldi Northumbrici Regis soror uterina, quæ cum suis ejusdem fratribus in terra Scotorum exili relegatis, et a Donal Brec, Scotorum Rege reverenter, cum Rege Oswaldo. Augst. fol. 87. Abbreviat. Alredon.

ther with a numerous body of adherents.[1] After he had recovered Northumbria from Cadwallan, he sent for various teachers and clergymen from Scotia; and many of the Northumbrians were placed under these monks, for their instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, and the arts and sciences.[2]

Edwin had no sooner expelled his sister's children, and was firmly seated on the throne, than he immediately declared war against the Picts and Britons. Already had the Northumbrians extended their dominions over part of the debatable lands. Edwin now subdued Galloway, conquered the isle of Man, which belonged to the Scots, and extended his arms to the coasts of Argyleshire, where he reduced the Hebrides, and carried away much booty.[3] He was the most powerful of the Northumbrian kings; and not only the Scots, Picts and Britons, but even the inhabitants of the distant isles, were kept in awe by the terror of his arms.[4]

The great Tierns of Scotland equipped for themselves fleets, raised armies, and seemed to possess all the authority of independent princes. Each had his own court, and his own judicatories, where the rights of his followers were ascertained. Connad Keir, one of these independent barons, fond of military achievements, and possessing more courage than good management, meditated an expedition into Ireland. He set sail, and with his army

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[1] Inter quos exulans ipse baptismatis sacramenta, cum his qui secum erant militibus, consecutus erat. Bed. lib. iii. c. 9.

[2] Misit ad majores natu Scotorum,—petens ut sibi mitterentur antistes.—Accepit pontificem Aidanum.—Exin cœpere plures per dies de Scotorum regione venire Britanniam, atque illis Anglorum provinciis, quibus regnavit Rex Oswald—verbum fidei prædicare; imbuebantur, præceptoribus Scottis, parvuli Anglorum. Bed. lib. iii. c. 3, including a period of thirty or forty years.

[3] Bed. lib. ii. c. 9.

[4] Bed. lib. ii. c. 5, 6, 9; Malmesbury, 18.

landed in the province of Ulster; where Deman, king of that petty state, met him with his undisciplined bands, and was slain in the battle of Ardesan,[1] after he had lost the victory, together with his son Eachina. This prince had, however, other matters of more moment to claim his attention at home; for Eochoid Buidhe, the king of Scotland, had by this time paid the debt of nature, after a reign of sixteen or seventeen years.[2]

To Eochoid Buidhe succeeded Connad Keir, the son of Conal, who had already signalized himself A. D. 622. against the Picts and Irish.[3] Connad Keir had no sooner seated himself firmly upon the Scottish throne, than he again pursued his Irish conquests, where he had been successful the former year. Great were the preparations which were made for this expedition. Since the time that Ethelfrid's army came into Scotland, the Saxons had been on terms of friendship with that nation; and a treaty of alliance now appears to have been entered into with that people. Ostric, a Saxon prince, joined him with some auxiliary troops; and the grandsons of

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[1] Tighernac, Ulster Annal.

[2] Eochoid Buidhe is, by Fordun, lib. iii. c. 8, placed after Connad Keir, who quotes for his authority Adamn.; but we are directly told by him, that he succeeded his father Aidan. "Eochodius autem Buidhe post patrem in regnum successit." Adamnan. lib. i. c. 8. He died after a reign of sixteen, Lat. Chronic. and Fordun; or seventeen year, Duan.

[3] The old Latin Lists say that he was the son of Conal; the Irish, that he was the son of Eochoid, the last king. This is, however, highly improbable; for we know that Eochoid was the youngest son of Aidan, and a child when his father came to the throne. Besides, upon the truth of the Irish account, how is it possible for Kerean, the son of Connad Keir, and the grandson of Eochoid, who could not be above fifty years of age, instantly to succeed his father, when Connad Keir only reigned three months? Duan; Lat. Lists; foreseeing that a dread of minorities in the kingdom appears to have been one of the reasons that induced them to prefer an uncle to the hereditary heir.

Aidan, Rigallon, son of Conan, and Fabby, son of Eochoid, the former king, also accompanied him with their followers.

But, being either flushed with his former success, and his new honours, or proceeding more inattentively than he had formerly done, against an enemy who had reason to fear him, he himself was vanquished, next year, in the battle of Fodhaevin, by Malcaioch, son of Scalan, king of the Cruthni, or Picts, in Ireland; a battle which was fatal to many branches of the royal family in Britain.[1] In that unfortunate engagement there fell Diodl, of the royal family of the Picts, Rigallon, son of Conan, Fabby, son of Eochoid, the grandson of Aidan, Ostric, son of Albert, a Saxon prince, with a considerable number of other chieftains. Donal Bred, in the meantime, met with better success, and proved victorious in the battle of Kenn, over the enemies of the Scottish nation. This brave, but short-lived prince, Connad Keir, who was killed in the same battle in which his army was vanquished by the Cruthni, was cut off in the midst of his days, at a time when the Scots, with his talents and intrepidity to direct them, might have rendered their name famous in Ireland, and prevented that subjection of Dalriada to the Northumbrian king, which the two subsequent weak, and unfortunate princes, rather hastened than prevented. His reign was not long, but prosperous, and during his short career of three months, his arms were always successful, until he was finally vanquished and cut off.[2]

Upon the news of Connad's death, his son Fercar I. who succeeded him, was declared king. The life of this prince is so barren of incident to

A. D. 622.

[1] Tighernac, Ulster Annal. [2] Albanic Duan.

the historian, that even the length of his reign does not seem to be agreed upon. He may have reigned conjunctly with Donal Brec, and like Feroar IV. been of the house of Loarn, as he is said to have been a son of Ewen.[a] It is evident, at least from the reign of Donal Brec, who is more distinguished in history, that he swayed the sceptre only six years, and left the throne to this prince in 628.

The Irish were at this time distracted by a civil war, which shook the throne to its very centre.

A. D. 628. Congal Claon of Ullagh, a chieftain of Ireland, who either bore some unnatural grudge to his father Suibney the king, or more probably becoming too powerful for a subject, he privately took away his life.

A. D. 629. Congal Claon appears to have been aspiring to pre-eminent power. But although this parricide had proceeded so far, and believed that there was now nothing between him and the kingdom, Donal, the brother of Suibney, collecting the scattered forces of the nation, defeated Congal, took possession himself of the throne, and forced him to take shelter in Britain.

A. D. 637. Here he was kindly received by Donal Brec. Thinking this a fair opportunity for recovering the conquests of the Scottish crown in that country, when it was distracted by civil rebellion, and weakened by this severe blow of Congal Claon of Ullagh, Donal accompanied him to Ireland with a considerable body

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[a] According to the Duan and old Latin Chronicles, he reigned sixteen years. A translation of the Annals of Ulster in the Museum errs inconsistently concerning Feroar, whose death it marks in 693, and that of Donal Brec his successor in 685. O'Flaherty reduces his reign to less than one year, because Tighernac dates the death of Eochoid Buidhe in 629, and that of Connad Keir in 630, when Donal Brec ascended the throne.

[b] Two of the Latin Chronicles.

of men. But the Irish fought for their liberty with a zeal which nothing could abate; and at the battle of Moyrath, the Scots, under the command of Donal Brec, with those Irish allies whom they had gone to assist, suffered a total defeat by Domnail, son of Aid, the king of Ireland, and grandson of Ainnrec, in which the flower and the strength of the Scottish nation perished.[1] The inconsiderate policy of Donal Brec, which induced him to invade the land of his fathers, occasioned his defeat, and involved the Scottish nation in ruin. Donal II. was the son of Aodhi, the grandson of Ainmerach, and the great grandson of Sednæ. But as this last prince was one of the sons of Erca, the daughter of Loarn, his hereditary foe, he broke asunder every tie of kindred, and embraced the fairest opportunity of establishing the independence of the Scottish throne, which had lately been acknowledged by the Irish, and of humbling the adherents of a rival prince of the house of Loarn, who had usurped the kingdom of his ancestors. The Scots were so reduced in that fatal engagement, that the nation, even in the beginning of the seventh century,[2] was under a constant dread of its rivals in arms, the Saxons in Britain.[3]

A. D. 638. Although Donal Brec was by no means successful in his Irish invasion, his restless spirit could not brook to be idle. In order to chastise his neighbours the Picts, who had taken advantage of his absence, he meditated an expedition into the Pictish kingdom, thinking that it was easier to support his army within the dominions of an enemy, than in his own country. This people, however, dreaded the effects of his revenge,

[1] Ulster Annal. A. D. 642. [2] In the year 700.

[3] Et a die illa usque hodie adhuc in proclivo sunt ab extraneis, quod suspira doloris pectori incutit. Adamn.

and avoided, by all means, a formal engagement, until they found a favourable opportunity of making an attack. The Scots had not well entered the extensive valley of Glenmoreson in Inverness-shire, when he found that he had to oppose the enemy on the neighbouring heights; and so disadvantageously was he situated, that he was finally defeated by the Picts, and forced to quit the country.[1] Donal retreating home with his troops, turned his arms against the Stratclyde Britons, who had threatened an invasion of the country during his absence, and was slain, with his son Cathusaidh, not long after, at Fraith-Cairvin, in a battle with Floan, king of the Britons of Stratclyde, after a reign of fourteen or sixteen years.[2] Brave, but inconsiderate, Domhnall Brec gained many battles. As a prince, who regards the aggrandizement of the state, and his renown in arms, as the primary object of his ambition, he merits our praise; but as a man, he was less amiable.

Conal and Dungal in the mean time succeeded Donal Brec in the kingdom.[3] The Scots still continued to feel the unhappy effects of those numerous disasters, which the weakness and inexperience of the two last kings had brought upon them. They had ever been declining in

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[1] Tighernac Annal. 688, translated into Latin from the Irish and Ulster Annals; a. D. 687.

[2] Ulster Ann. A. D. 692.

[3] According to the Duan, the Chronica Regum Scotorum, the Reg. of St. Andr., the Chronicon Pythuicum, and that of Andrew Winton, we allow that the Annals of Ulster give him one year more, and that Mr Pinkerton cuts off two, in order that the commencement of his reign may agree with Tighernac's account of Conad Kerr's death in 630. But besides that, we have the unanimous account of the three Latin Chronicles, of Winton, Fordun and the Duan, that Eochoid Buidhe reigned sixteen years, and of Tighernac, that he reigned twenty-three. We have the testimony of the Annals of Ulster and Tighernac that he was slain in 641 or 642; and the authority of the Latin Lists that he reigned sixteen years. Duan Albanic.

their rank among nations since the loss of Aidan, the glory and safeguard of his country; and from that period, although none of their kings joined battle with the English till the middle of the eighth century,[1] they were still engaged in hostilities with their neighbours, the Strat-clyde Britons and the Irish.

Since the time of Aidan, the Scots and Irish appear not to have been on terms of alliance. Previously to that period, indeed, a treaty had subsisted between these two nations from the earliest times, even back to the origin of their race and name. They were on the most amicable footing from the third century to the beginning of the sixth;[2] and their Irish allies rendered the Scots many essential services, both before and after they had firmly established themselves in their new settlements.[3] But from the time that their scattered tribes were united into one monarchy, the intercourse seems to have been less frequent, till at last it broke up in the reign of Aidan. From that period both nations were engaged in a perpetual struggle, the one to preserve that ancient alliance in which they bore so honourable a part, the other to shake off that yoke, which, from an honourable treaty, had degenerated into a servile connection, more consistent with that of a fief and superior, than the liberty of a free nation.[4] Although this alliance was dissolved by negotiation, a term which was little known in that warlike age, many battles and much bloodshed was the consequence; and thus the Scots were too busily engaged in Ireland and Stratclyde Britain to carry their arms into Saxonia.

Oswald, the son of Ethelfrid, and king of Northumberland, who had received protection from the Scots and

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1 A. D. 731. Beda, Hist. Eccl.

2 Claudian de Laud. Stilich.; Beda and Gildas.

3 Adamnan. Vit. Columb.

Picts, together with his family, succeeded his brother, who was slain before he was acquainted with the nature and difficulties of his perilous situation. Oswald, more bent upon the extension of his dominions and the destruction of his enemies, than actuated by the principles of true religion, opposed the Britons with success. The established religion among the Scots differed considerably from the Roman Catholic faith. Their ecclesiastical polity was founded on principles of the greatest simplicity, and the Scottish church resembled much the ancient one in the purity of its morality, and its form of government. Its ministers were presbyters and monks, although some of them enjoyed an authority even greater than that of bishops.[1] But the proud dignitaries of the English church could ill brook the lordly power of the Scottish and Pictish presbyters. They had not forgotten the defeat which the Scots met with in the extensive kingdom of Northumbria, some few years before. More solicitous about the outward pomp of religion than the purity of its precepts, they instigated the princes of that kingdom to invade the dominions of the Scots and Caledonians, that they might extend their own influence and authority within the boundaries of the nation.[2] To these entreaties the warriors of Northumbria listened with pleasure, and quickly prepared an army for the expedition. King Oswald, who was educated among the Scots,[3] took the command of the troops, and is said to have humbled the Scots and Picts who inhabited the northern parts of Britain, and rendered them tributary to Northumbria.[4] But the same au-

[1] See the article Learning.
[2] Beda, lib. vii. c. 3.
[3] Beda, lib. iii. c. 25 and 29.
[4] Pictorum quoque atque Scotorum gentes, quæ septentrionales Britanniæ fines tenent, maxima ex parte perdomuit, ac tributarias fecit. A. n. 617. Bed. l. ii. c. 5.

ther afterwards shews, that it was principally the Picts who were vanquished and rendered tributary to the English.[1] In 681, King Egfrid formed that part of the country which was subdued into a separate distinct diocese,[2] which was probably the same as Candida Casa.

Elated with a series of victories, he at last attacked at Denisburn, near the wall of Severus, Cadwallan, king of the Britons, the chief object between him and the superiority of the island; and after an obstinate and sanguinary engagement, Cadwallan, with his principal officers, fell.[3] He had thus removed the principal obstacle between him and the object of his ambition. There was now no nation or principality in Britain to supersede him in authority; and, by way of pre-eminence, Oswald was called emperor of Britain,[4] and king of Saxonia or England.

A. D. 642. The Britons, together with the Picts and Scots, who lived between the Solway and the Forth,[5] paid him tribute.[6] He received into subjection the British, Pictish, Scottish and English kingdoms.[7]

Of Conal and Dungal whose name signifies the black stranger, little is known. Conal is said to have been a younger brother of Donal Brec;[8] but if we may believe the accomplishment of Columba's prophecy,[9] the descendants of Aidan had ere this time lost the kingdom. Donal Brec was a magnanimous prince. He declared war when the independence of the Scottish nation was at

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[1] Qui etiam gentem Pictorum maxima ex parte regno Anglorum subjecit. Bed. lib. iii. c. 24.

[2] Beda, Hist. lib. iii. 1 and 2.

[3] Bed. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 26.

[4] Imperator totius imperii. Cumminius, who lived in Hyona about 650.

[5] Cuthbert, bishop of Melrose, who lived among the Picts 651—644; Bed. Trumin, bishop of Abercorn, a province of the Picts, A. D. 681, near the Forth. Bed. H. Eccl.

[6] Nennius, App. c. 46.

[7] Bed. lib. iii. c. 6. Cumminus, Vit. Columb.

[8] According to O'Flaherty.

stake, and fought more from ambition than a love of plunder. But Conal II. his successor, relaxed the discipline of the army, and, impelled merely by a thirst of plunder, effected no considerable conquest.[1] After an inglorious reign of ten years he died, and left the kingdom to Donal Duin, the son of Conall.[2]

Upon the death of Oswald, who was slain by Penda, king of the Mercians, this prince made a formidable irruption into the kingdom of Northumbria, and laid waste the country with fire and sword. Oswi, his son, overthrew this Merofain, whose enmity had proved so fatal to Northumberland, in a field near the river Wonuoiden, in Bernicia, and took possession of his dominions. The Scots of Galloway were at this time tributary to the Northumbrians, and too much overawed by the rising fame and power of Oswi to hazard a recovery of their liberty.[3] But although they were not able to cast off the yoke of the victorious Saxons, they were insensibly making encroachments on the territories of their Pictish neighbours, who were straitened by the Saxons on the one side, and the Stratclyde Britons on the other.[4] Donal Duin held the reins of government in Scotland during a space of thirteen years, when he died.[5]

A. D. 662.

Upon the death of Donal Duin, Malduin, the son of

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[1] He was sometimes named Conal na Creach, or Conal of the Spoils. Albanic Duan.

[2] Duan.

[3] O'Flaherty.

[4] Bed. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 24. Eloven. Wigorn.

[5] Bed. lib. iv. c. 26.

[6] According to the Duan. For the three Latin Chronicles, the Chronicon Scotorum, the Reg. St. Andr. and the Chronicon Rythmicum, which are silent upon this king's reign, may have easily passed over from Donal Brec to Donal Duin, by confounding the two Donalds.

Conal II.[1] or a descendant of Donal Duin,[2] took possession of the Scottish throne, and was considered to have a preferable claim to any of the family of the house of Loarn.[3] After the Mercians had recovered their liberty, and the quarrels of the heptarchy had subsided into a calm, the Scottish kingdom was again torn with internal disorder and deadly feuds. Domangard, the son of Daniel or Donal Brec, the late Scottish monarch, seems to have been the object of envy. The house of Loarn had been set aside in the reign of Fergus, the first Scottish monarch. This prince was too much versed in the political intrigues of that period to suffer his nephew, who seems to have been but a weak prince, to share with him in the kingdom. The family, however, gathered strength; and in a series of ages, from petty princes, they became a powerful family, and again stood forth the competitors for the Scottish crown with the house of Fergus. Domangard, who was the first victim of their ambition, was killed in 672;[4] and some of the ancestors of Malduin were soon after sacrificed to the same unworthy motive. Malduin was the son or grandson of Conal, the uncle or cousin of Domangard, who was treacherously slain by the partisans of the house of Loarn; and in 675, Conal his son was assassinated.

A. D. 665.

A. D. 672.

A. D. 675.

Had these acts of open rebellion been allowed to pass unpunished, Malduin was unsafe in the midst of his own dominions. The traitor's arm might have reached him on the throne, and wrested from him a kingdom, which belonged to his ancestors since the time of Fergus I.

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[1] Malduin Mhic Conaill na Gesgach. Albanic Duan.

[2] Reg. St. And.

[3] Malduin Godlightheach, Malduin the lawful.

[4] Annals of Ulster, A. D. 672.

They were outlawed as rebels to their king and country; and refusing to submit to his authority, according to the summary justice of these times, a great number of them were slain in Firrin, five years after the murder of Dumangard. In the midst of these tumultuous insurrections, Malduin died in the sixteenth[1] or seventeenth year of his reign.[2]

Although several branches of the line of Fergus were still in existence, and nearly allied to the deceased Malduin, the opportunity was too favourable for an ambitious prince, who would not tamely submit to the authority of any one who sat on the throne which once belonged to his ancestors. They seemed fearful in making much head against him; and Fercar Fada II. the tall, a prince of the house of Loarn, descended from him only in the eighth generation, took possession of the throne.

That Fercar II. who succeeded Malduin in the kingdom, was of a different race from the former kings of Scotland, is somewhat manifest from ancient chronicles.[3] The civil commotions of the Scots had ceased, and the house of Loarn was again established on the throne in the person of Fercar II.,[4] the son or grandson of Fercar I. Those continual broils, which before divided the kingdom, and laid it open to the attacks of a foreign enemy, were now quashed; and the steady efforts of the whole nation were successfully directed to the public good.

Oswi, the Northumbrian prince, had the meanwhile pushed his conquests as far as Carlisle in Cumberland, which was afterwards conferred by the Northumbrians on St Cuthbert.[5] Egfrid, the son

A. D. 685.

[1] According to the Chronology of the Reg. St. Andr. [2] Duan Albanic. [3] The Register of St. Andr. and the Chronica Regum Scottorum. [4] Liber Lecan. [5] Beda, Vit. Cuthberi, c. 27. Smith's Beda, p. 782.

and successor of Oswi, king of Northumberland, pleased with the success of an expedition which was carried on under the command of Berht, against the undisciplined natives of Ireland, in 684,[1] and provoked by the revolt of his tributaries, turned his arms against the Picts, or northern inhabitants of Britain, contrary to the advice of his bishops, and the remonstrances of his ealdermen.[2] But these wily enemies the Picts, among whom he burnt Tela-Aman,[4] a considerable fortress,[5] together with Dunolla, a place of strength among the Scots, feigning a retreat, drew him unwarily among the unknown defiles of their mountains. Here they defeated his army at Nechtans Mere,[4] a lake in the neighbourhood of Duinnechtan,[7] or Dunichin,[8] a village in Angus, north of the Scottish sea,[9] where he was slain.[10] This prince afterwards found a grave in Hyona, the royal cemetery of the Scots and Picts; or at least his name is handed down among the kings who lie entombed in that celebrated isle. Few of Egfrid's army returned home to give tidings of this sad disaster, and the fate of their brave king. The engagement was a sanguinary one, and the English were cut off to a man.[9] The Picts, thus victorious, "recovered the "land of their possession;" the Scots shook off the dominion of the Anglo-Saxons, and a small part of the Strat-clyde Britons regained their liberty.[10]

20th May.

Domangard had fallen a sacrifice to the family feuds be-

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[1] Floren. Wigorn. p. 254. Beda, l. iv. c. 26.

[2] Beda, Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 26; Floren. Wigorn. p. 255; Sim. Dunelm. p. 53; Saxon Chronic. p. 45.

[3] Under King Brude IV. [4] Stagnum Nechtain: Simeon of Durham.

[5] Cathduin Nechtan; Tighernac. Bellum Dúin Nechtan; Ulster Annal.

[6] Gulielm. Chart. Arbroath. [7] Juxta mare Pictl. Saxon Chronic. p. 46.

[8] Beda, l. iv. c. 26. Saxon Chron. p. 45. [9] Malmesbury.

[10] Beda, Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 26; Nennius, App. c. 64; edit. Bertram.

tween the house of Loarn and Fergus. And now that the representative of the former family had succeeded to the Scottish throne, he abused the princely power with which he had been intrusted, by fomenting quarrels; and little doubt remains, but he was the secret assassin, who murdered Donal, the son of Conal and the grandson of Malduin, the great rival of the house of Loarn.[1] Conal his father had been privately put to death; and these deeds of a barbarous age were at this time so common, that some of their causes merit our particular attention.

While the Druids were both the ministers of religion, the legislators of the country, and the judges of equity, they rendered the authority which they derived from the first of these offices, subservient to their own private revenge; and thus almost all punishments were capital.[2] Human victims, which were usually taken from among the criminals of the nation, were then thought necessary by our ancestors to deprecate the divine wrath.[3] But when this class of people were not sufficiently numerous to supply the priest with human victims, they had recourse even to the innocent.[4] Thus, the ferocity of the Scottish character was not only cherished by the religion of the Druids, but every small offence was magnified into a great crime, and capital punishments became numerous. When the Druids of this country ceased not only to be priests, but also legislators and judges, in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, upon the establishment of Christianity, the grandees of the nation were unwilling to give up to the ministers of religion, such an unbounded authority as the

[1] Ulster Annal. [2] Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. vi.
[3] Tacitus, Vit. Agric. [4] Cæsar Comment.
[4] Cæs. de Bell. Gal. l. vi. c. 13, 16.

Druids had possessed over them.[1] They became themselves both legislators and judges. The country was originally divided into numerous distinct tribes,[2] which had each its own government and laws.[3] Every chief at that time sought revenge by private retribution, and he had only to buckle on his sword, when his enemy gave him any cause of offence. Robbery,[4] murder,[5] and theft,[6] cases which came especially under the judicial cognisance of the Druids,[7] were all capital crimes, by the ancient laws of the Scots. This can only be accounted for, from the high prerogative which each petty chief claimed over his own followers, a claim which was admitted by the laws of our country, when all these chieftains were united under one monarchy. The state possessed not at first such authority as to enforce its own laws. This power remained in the hands of certain private individuals; and in Scotland the supreme judicatory of the nation was much longer in acquiring this authority, than in Wales, where there were no capital punishments, even in the ninth century.[8] So strongly rooted was the notion, that private wrong required private retribution, that long after the union of the Picts and Scots, we find in the ancient laws of our country many enactments against it.[9] There were, notwithstanding, certain cases, in which the law of retribution was permitted in Scotland to a very late period, when the defender was compelled to fight;[10] and this

[1] Their authority was very great. Diodorus Siculus, l. v. c. 2.

[2] Xiphilin ex Dione. [3] Tacitus.

[4] Regiam Majestatem, Stat. 3. Rob. c. 4. [5] Ibidem. c. 4.

[6] Reg. Majes. lib. 4. c. 16. 18. [7] Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. 16.

[8] Vid. Howel, Dha leges.

[9] Stat. 2. Rob. I. c. 15; stat. Rob. III. c. 15; and Leges Burg. c. 103. § 1 and 2.

[10] Stat. Will. c. 27. § 1.

trial by combat was very ancient, [1] if not coeval with the first body of Scottish laws.

Thus, in Scotland, the natural thirst of private revenge was cherished, rather than prohibited, by the laws and usages of the country; and in the sixth and seventh century, when the Scottish nation was split into several petty states, and distracted by internal feuds, assassination, which was committed without remorse, was hardly accounted a crime.

Upon the death of Egfrid, king of Northumbria, the Picts not only recovered those dominions which the Saxons had laid hold of; but likewise a part of those which the Scots had once possessed. [2] But this people, notwithstanding, still continued to aggrandize their territories, by the daily encroachments which they made upon their neighbours. The seat of the Pictish monarchy was originally in the Hebrides, or rather the isles to the north. But they had in the time of Columba, besides their ordinary abode at Abernethy, near Tay, a royal palace at the northern end of Lochness. [3] Moving on southward, and leaving by degrees the western parts of the kingdom but thinly inhabited, the Scots took possession in part of those lands, which were adjacent to the dominions of the Picts. This people had now, besides these royal abodes, an occasional residence for their monarch at Forteviot, and on Loch Leven; and had rather moved to the northward, gradually yielding to their Scottish neighbours.

In a rude and ignorant age, superstition not only has its influence on the conduct of men, and regulates not a few of the transactions of private life; but likewise intermingles in the civil and political concerns of society, and

[1] Regiam Majestatem, lib. iv. c. 1. § 13. [2] Beda, ibid. quoad supra.
[3] Domus regia. Adamnanus, Vit. Columb. lib. ii. c. 35. 42. lib. iii. c. 35.

raises its ministers to the busiest and most conspicuous station in the civil or legislative department of the state. Religion had at this period become a leading principle in the cabinets of North Britain. The Britons, Picts and Scots, differed from the papal see of Rome in their mode of computing Easter. They calculated the return of this festival, upon principles of computation, which anticipated its observance a whole month, earlier than the Roman Calendar, that Dionysius Exiguus, a priest of the Romish persuasion, had introduced in 532. The computation of the cycle, which was corrected by the Romans, was adopted by all those Christians who followed the Romish ritual. But the Scots, Picts and Britons adhered to the old system. Religious zeal had, on account of this difference, a manifest influence over the politics of the northern states. They fought for their priests as they did for their chiefs, and upon it were all the amities, jealousies, wars and alliances, which agitated these nations, in a great measure dependent. Upon King Oswald's return from among the Scots, where he had been converted to the Christian religion, the Scottish ritual was for a time established in Northumbria, under his authority; and after the Romish and Scottish Calendar had been changed by turns, as the Northumbrian or northern arms were successful, the Scottish clergy were at last reconciled to the practice of the see of Rome.

Meanwhile, Cathsuidh, the grandson of Donald Brec, died,[1] and in a little time afterwards[2] Ferdar Fada, in the twenty-first year of his reign[3], so that the male line of Donal Brec became extinct, with the exception of Achy Rinneval, the hooked nose, com-

A. D. 688.

[1] Beda, H. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4. [2] Annal. Ulster. [3] Duan. and Latin Chronic.

monly called Eochoid II, who was the son of Domangard.[1] Fercar Fada II. seems to have been a prince of some enterprise. He was the first who revived the dormant title of the house of Loarn to the throne. He established it by force, — supported it by deeds of violence; and while the nation under his government recovered some part of its ancient dominions from the Saxons, and established its liberty on a broader basis, Fercar, by his abilities and address, was barely able to maintain his regal authority.

Achy Rinneval took possession of the Scottish throne more by the force of arms, and the influence of his friends, than by any right of succession which he himself possessed, although he was the grandson of Donal Brec. If his minority excluded him from the kingdom, which Conal II. his uncle, had obtained, he was nevertheless legal heir of the throne, in preference to Donal Dun, or Malduin his cousin.[2] Scarcely was he crowned king, ere his title was called in question by the adherents of his own house. When the kingdom had been forcibly taken possession of, by the powerful princes of the house of Loarn, Concuvar Mocha, the son of Malduin, was yet a minor, and Achy Rinneval redeemed the crown of his ancestors from the usurping family. But Concuvar Mocha considered his own claim to be preferable, as the ancestors of Eochoid II. had not enjoyed the supreme dignity of the nation since the time of Donal Brec his grandfather. Concuvar drew his sword, and sung the war song to his gathering clans;[3] and Achy Rinneval struck his shield with the brazen cnapstara.[4]

A. D. 703.

[1] Tighernac, cum Ulster Annal.; Chronic. Reg. Scotorum; Chronicon Rythmicum; Register St. Andr. [2] O'Flaherty.

[3] An ancient practice observed by the Scots. [4] Xiphilin ex Dione.

They met at Teymna; but both these princes, being too anxious to establish their reputation as warriors, and leaving more to their personal valour than to their prudence, they fell, by mutual wounds, upon heaps of slain,[1] two years after Achy Rinneval's accession to the throne.[2]

A. D. 705. Ambkellach, the son of Ferchair Fada, a prince of the house of Loarn, taking advantage of these internal commotions in the family of Fergus, wrested the crown from the partisans of both, and was declared king in 705. The house of Loarn was not yet firmly established on the throne. The adherents of the opposite party had not forgotten the recent misfortunes which preceded the settlement of the father of Fercar II; or rather, their ambition being prompted by the easy temper of Ambkellach, who was a man of a mild disposition,[3] they took advantage of his good nature, and threatened his expulsion from the kingdom. Selvach, his brother, seems to have been one of the principal actors, if not the chief instigator, in this unnatural conspiracy. Ambkellach, when he laid claim to the crown, appears to have been supported by the race of Loarn, the principal residence of which was at Duolla. But Selvach, being of a more active and enterprising disposition, laid several plans, by which he himself might get possession of the kingdom. At last he attacked him in his own castle at Duolla,[4] probably Dunolly,[5] the residence of the chiefs of Loarn, which is situated on a great rock near

[1] Ulster Annal.

[2] The Duan, and the three Latin Chronicles; for the words "Aod Rex Dalaroidh" are more applicable to Aghod, Aodlor, or Eoghed Rinneval, Chron. Ryth., both as to the name and the time when he lived, than to Ed III, king of Ireland, who flourished in 604, the only Irish prince to whom it can be applied. [3] Ambhcealach maith Mhic Fearchair. Duan.

[4] Ulster Annal. [5] Pennant's Tour, vol. iii.

Dunstaffnage on the south, opposite the isle of Kerrera,[1] and after a short siege, burnt it to the ground. Ambkellach, making his escape from this fortress, collected together his remaining strength, and for the space of two years, seems to have withstood the united force of the rebel army. But being at length greatly weakened by this protracted civil war, and entertaining no hope of being able to stand out much longer, he was compelled to leave the kingdom, in the second or third year of his reign,[2] and was carried prisoner to Ireland.[3]

A. D. 706. After these violent proceedings against his brother, Selvach usurped the throne, and immediately declared himself king of the Scots, upon the expulsion of Ambkellach.[4] The Stratclyde Welsh, or the remains of those Britons who still retained their ancient dominions, when the Scots and Picts took possession of the country south of the Forth, in the fifth century, were at this time an independent tribe, situated in Dunbartonshire and its neighbourhood, a plain and fertile country, which was surrounded on the west by the mountains of Ergadia.[5] But their local situation prevented them from falling a prey to the surrounding foe. In the year 710

[1] Remarkable for the death of Alexander II.

[2] Duan. Lat. Lists. Ulster Annal. A. D. 697.

[3] By some chronicles, this prince is placed no less than ten reigns later than he really should be, (Latin Chronicles). The Duan is no doubt defective, and omits him entirely, together with Achy Rinneval; but his life is so interwoven with known events, and his transactions so often marked in the Irish Annals, more than those of any other Scottish monarch, that it is hardly possible that they could, in this instance, have mistaken his reign. The reign of Donal Brec has been twice erroneously dated, no less than forty-three years after the time when he flourished, as appears from the Annals of Ulster and Tighernac. But Selvach is particularly noticed in both these annals, and appears to have entered upon his reign at the death of Ambkellach.

[4] Vid. Pinkerton.

they experienced a defeat by the Scots at Laughcoleth, and six years afterwards they were again vanquished at the rock of Mionurie by the same enemy.[1]

Meanwhile, the contention arising from two contradictory Calendars, respecting the time of keeping Easter, was carried on with ardour and artful stratagem. Hardly was the contest of plunder and ambition prosecuted with greater avidity. Upon the death of Duncha Mac Sinfaola, abbot of Hi, or Hyona, Nethan III. king of the Picts, drove the monks of Hyona, and the family of Hi,[2] into the inland territories of the Scots, probably in consequence of the famous letter of Ceolfried, abbot of Wiremouth, which this king received, regarding the festival of Easter, in 715.[3]

The Saxons had by this time renewed the war with the Picts, in order to divert the minds of the people A. D. 710. from affairs of a more alarming nature. The mode of carrying on a siege was at this period rather singular. They fenced round a large space of ground, which was generally woody, with a wall usually of stone, without cement, and a fossé.[4] Hither they retired with their wives, their children and their cattle, for their better security in times of danger; and this practice at length gave rise to fortified towns.[5] The same custom was observed by the ancient Scots, Picts, Welsh and Irish, who denominated this inclosed space "a camp." The Picts, who had concluded an alliance with the Scots, had fortified themselves after this manner in the camp of Man, when the Saxons came down against them;[6] and after a siege of considerable length, these Gothic tribes blockad-

[1] Ulster Annal. [2] Ibid. a. n. 716. [3] Bed. lib. i. c. 29.

[4] Oppidum, Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas, vallo atque fossa munierunt. Cæs. lib. v.

[5] Oppidum,—quo incursiones hostium vitandæ causa, convenire consuevérunt. Cæs. p. 92. [6] In campo Manan. Tighernac.

ed the place, and slew a vast number of the enemy, among whom was Fuguin, the son of Velaroith.[1] The Scots were not, however, dispirited by this overthrow which their allies had met with, but sallied forth against the descendants of the ancient Scandinavians, and, after several victories, finally routed them.[2] The Saxons, two years afterwards, made an attack upon the Caledonians, and, still unsuccessful, they charged them a third time, under the direction of Mathgen, who was put to flight with his whole army, and slain.[3]

The Pictish succession to the crown being elective, and not hereditary,[4] proved an inlet to many of the commotions which distracted that kingdom at this period; and must, in the course of time, have had no small influence, in raising the Scottish nation to that superiority over the Picts, which it had attained before the union of the two kingdoms. The succession among the Scots was, in like manner, elective; yet, in this election, in case of an equality, the male line was always preferred; whereas, among the Picts, when the candidates were equally recommended, a preference was given to him who could establish his claim in the female line. By these means the state, which was naturally democratical, and often deposed its own monarchs, was more exposed to internal disturbances than the Scottish kingdom, in which the election to the monarchy, depending upon many other circumstances, was established on a broader basis.

It was the interest of the Scots to support every rival who might start for the Pictish crown; for by these means the nation was weakened, and yielded them an easy ascendency. In the reign of Nethan III. they gave their

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[1] Tighernac. Annal. [2] Ulster Annal. A. D. 710. [3] Tighernac.
[4] See Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 3.

support to Garnard, who seems to have advanced a claim of this nature; and with the assistance of his Scottish allies, he succeeded in usurping the throne, and reigned fourteen[1] or twenty years.[2]

A. D. 718. Ambkellach had by this time escaped from Ireland, after a period of twelve years' banishment. Gathering together his forces and adherents, in order to drive the usurper from the kingdom, he was attacked by his brother in Finglin, a small valley among the mountains of Loarn, where his little band was routed, and he himself slain.[3] Ambkellach was distinguished for the amiableness of his disposition. He had surmounted those difficulties which stood in his way before he came to the throne, and soon gained the affections of the people, who joined his standard in great numbers: he triumphed over the house of Malduin and the partizans of Argyle, and at last assumed the reins of government, and for some time continued to reign. But the art and enterprising spirit of Selvach, his brother, soon lessened his popularity, and shook his throne; and at length he fell, the victim of his own gentle disposition, and irresolute conduct.

The house of Loarn had now become equally powerful with that of Fergus. Ambkellach and Selvach added more to its influence than any of its former descendants since the time of the first great progenitor of the royal family; although Fergus united to his own patrimonial estate the inheritance of Angus, a third brother, descended from the old stock of Riada, in the beginning of the fifth century, and gave birth to a race of kings who ruled the Scots. Selvach engrossed no small share of that influence and ascendancy in the nation, which the supreme

[1] Reg. St. Andr. [2] Fordun Scotichron.
[3] Ulster Annals, A. D. 718.

family ought always to possess. Argyle had been deprived of the kingdom upon the death of Achy Rinneval in the battle of Teymna, when the heir-apparent to the throne was yet a minor. The other branches of the family were too haughty to pay allegiance to the descendants of those from whom their ancestors used to receive it; and in contempt of the royal mandate, they set up an independent monarchy, and declared Doncha king of the septs of Argyle. But Kintyre seems to have been the utmost boundary of this new principality; for Selvach had apparently seized that part of Argyle which lay next to Loarn, his patrimonial country.

Doncha "the little" was only excelled by Selvach in his valour and ferocity; for they appear to have been equal in enterprise and ambition. The restless disposition of Doncha led him into many contests, which, if they proved favourable to the aggrandizement of a private family, were ruinous to the nation. The Scottish king, who belonged to the house of Loarn, viewed this open violation of his authority with feelings of pride, mingled with disdain. Without delay he equipped a fleet, and bore down against Doncha Beg, the king of this new principality; and Duncha "the little," not being slow to oppose him, they met off Ardness, a promontory in Argyleshire, which has now lost its ancient name. The good fortune of Duncha long prevailed, and at last he was vanquished, though not subdued,[2] and lost many of his chieftains and companions in arms.[3]

The spread of monkery was at this time considerable in the kingdom. Science of every kind was making rapid progress, compared with its advancement since the

[1] Ulster Annal, A. D. 718. [2] Tighernac Annal.
[3] Ulster Annal.

irruption of the Goths into Europe; and from the College of Hyona to the humble cell, all were zealous in the same pursuit. Learning, both human and divine, had been confined principally to the clerical orders since the fall of the Druids; but some of the royal families, in the seventh and eighth century, convinced of its utility, allowed themselves to be instructed by that order of men, in the arts and sciences.[1] As they were generally ignorant, religion made a deep impression upon their minds, and softened, in no small degree, the rude barbarity of the age. Instances are not indeed wanting, where Scottish princes, of the blood royal, retired from the bustle of the world, and laid aside the diadem for the cowl.[2] The rage for the monastic life was at this time great; and even since the mystics in the east had retired into the deserts,[3] the contemplative life seems to have been frequently courted by religious devotees.

Selvach was jealous of the house of Argyle, and dreaded to push the matter too far with Donoha the little,[4] whom he had overcome in a sea fight. Mortified at this disappointment to his own ambitious projects, and smarting at the same time under the reproof of a guilty conscience, since the murder of his brother Ambkellach, he quietly retired to a monastery, to expiate his crimes by penance.[5] Nethan, king of the Picts, was at this time happily overawed by his successor Drust, who afterwards committed him to prison;[6] other-

A. D. 722.

[1] Joan. Vossius de Historia Latin. lib. ii. p. 259; Spottiswood, Dempst. and Caves, Hist. Literat.

[2] A Scottish prince retired to a cell in France; vid. Gagninus, Hist. Franc. lib. iii.; Camerarius de Scot. Fert. et Pict. p. 158; Surius, tom. vii.

[3] Jo. Launii Indicium de scriptis Dionysii, tom. ii. ap. part 1. p. 562.

[4] Clericatus Selvae, Ulster Annal. A. D. 722.

[5] Tighernac Annal.

wise he would not have let slip so favourable an opportunity of humbling the Scots.

The monastic life did not long agree with the warlike and aspiring disposition of Selvach. When his interest was threatened, he laid aside all vows of the monastic kind, and girt him with the sword of the warrior, in order to redress his own grievances. Doncha had renounced his allegiance to his sovereign, and shewed himself to be independent of his king and country. Another branch of the same family followed his footsteps, and split the nation again into a separate state. The clan of Echtagh was descended from Donal Brec; and Echtagh the chief, the son of Achy Rinneval, was a minor when Doncha declared for independence. But having now attained to the years of manhood, and scorning the authority of his paternal enemy and rival Selvach, a prince of the house of Loarn, he declared himself king of his own patrimonial state Argyle. Selvach, although he had relinquished all earthly pursuits, and retired to the cloister, yet having collected a sufficient body of men, he marched forward to attack this upstart king in his own dominions, at Airgiall, where a battle was fought between him and Echtagh, the issue of which seems to have been doubtful.[1] Doncha had been dead several years before this engagement, and relying probably on the hope of succeeding to his kingdom, Achy or Echtagh, the son of Achy Rinneval,[2] and consequently the great grandson of Donal Brec,[3] was prevailed upon by Selvach to grant to him a division of the district of Argyle, which lay between Kintyre and Loarn.[4] But the death of Selvach put a stop to these deadly feuds, which agitated the two rival houses; and the whole na-

[1] Ulster Annal. [2] Tighernac. [3] Ulster Annals, A. D. 726.
[4] Ibid.

tion felt the good effects of this event, in the reign of his successor.

Selvach was more distinguished for the intrepidity of his conduct, and his policy as a statesman, than his virtues as a man. Although his ambition led him to take up arms against his brother, who was slain in the unnatural contest, he seems not to have been altogether destitute of the kindly affections. His martial spirit, which suited that rude age, delighted in war; his ambition prompted him on; superstition had no small share in softening these military virtues, and to these qualifications he added no ordinary degree of prudence, which fitted him for governing a restless and warlike people.

Echtagh or Eachoid III., the son of Achy Rinneval,[1] who was the grandson of Domnail Bret, and A. D. 726. the last king of the same name in North Britain, succeeded to the whole kingdom, as it originally stood before the last schism. Although Eochoid III. appears in few engagements since the year 726,[2] when he first entered upon his reign before the death of Selvach, he is nevertheless rendered at least as famous as any of his predecessors, from the alleged treaty and friendly intercourse that subsisted between him and the famous Charlemagne. This correspondence of Charlemagne with Eochoid III. has been considered by some of the most intelligent inquirers into our history, as entirely fabulous. A certain writer,[3] indeed, pretends to give us from Veremund, which appears to be a forgery,[4] the precise articles of this treaty. But the terms in which it is couched, are found to be the same in substance, and nearly in expression, with those in the leagues which were formed between the French and Scots in the fourteenth and fifteenth centu-

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[1] Tighernac. [2] Ulster Annal, Latin Lists. [3] Chambers.
[4] Vid. Appendix, Note D, E, F.

ries. Even he himself is obliged to acknowledge, in several places of his writings, that there was no need of such mutual aid, at least till three centuries afterward. One of the most ancient historians of this country, [1] takes notice of this treaty; but he speaks of it only as a tradition, without making mention of any formal alliance. There is no authority for saying that a league offensive and defensive was at this time entered into between Scotland and France; and much less, that a body of four thousand men were dispatched into the former, under the command of Willelmus or Gilimer, the brother of King Achy. [2]

That Charlemagne sought the friendship of the Scots, we have sufficient ground for affirming. The propagation of Christianity, and the authority of the Papal See of Rome, had given rise to a correspondence in regard to sciences, arts, and ecclesiastical government, which extended over almost all the Christian world. The Scottish monastery of Hyona was, at this time, perhaps the most famous in Europe. The monks, who were eminent for learning and piety, had not quite forgotten the ancient discipline; and they shed a lustre on the nation to which they belonged. The ambition and religious enthusiasm of Charlemagne prompted him to extend his influence and his arms over Europe, and to propagate Christianity by the sword. A laudable curiosity and uncommon ardour for knowledge, were principles which led him to inquire into the state even of the most distant nations, the tribes of Bagdad. There were many Scottish monks who, out of a zeal for religion or literary fame, passed over into France. [3] But although neither Johannes, surnamed Scotus, nor

[1] Fordun, lib. iii. c. 47. "Ut traditur." [2] As Veremund does.
[3] Veremund, a forgery. [4] Buchan. lib. v. p. 194.

Clement Scot,[1] two eminent scholars, who flourished in the next century, are to be ranked among those who frequented the court of Charlemagne, there were several who went over at this time.[2]

The emperor, possessing an ardent zeal for the culture of the sciences, and directed by the counsel of Alcuin his preceptor, either a Scot or Anglo-Saxon, who was once Abbot of Canterbury, encouraged many learned men to come over from Scotland.[3] Would it not have been surprising, if one of Charlemagne's singular character had not sought a friendly intercourse with a prince in whose dominions that institution stood, which was the nursery of learning in the middle ages, and of which he could not be ignorant? He appears also to have carried on a correspondence with Ireland, from whence different men of saintly learning are said to have adorned his court;[4] and this intercourse with the British nations seems to have led to the alliance which subsisted between France and Scotland at so early a period. Eginhard, the chancellor and the son-in-law of Charles,[5] makes mention, indeed, of a friendly intercourse which took place between Charlemagne and the Scottish nation; but certainly does not take notice of a formal treaty, or a body of four thousand

[1] As Buchanan supposes, unless the league happened a century afterwards.

[2] Albin et Notkerus Balbus, apud Hen. Canis. Antiquæ Lection. Ingoelst. 1601. Buchanan says, that Johannes Scotus and Clement Scot both went over about this time.

[3] Johan. Fricius, de Canone Scripturæ Sacræ, p. 184.

[4] Shoeflin Commentationes Historicæ, p. 392, 1751.

[5] Eginhard, Vit. Carol. Mag. lib. xiv, xvi. p. 79, A. p. 791. Scotorum quoque reges sic habuit ad suam voluntatem, per suam munificentiam inclinatos, ut eum nunquam aliter quam dominum pronunciavit. Epistolæ ab iis ad eum missæ extant, quibus hujusmodi effectus eorum erga illum indicatur. See Sir George M'Kenzie's Defence, for an explanation of this passage, p. 107, 158.

auxiliaries, sent to the aid either of Achaius or Charlemagne. The alliance is said to have taken place between these monarchs in 790,[1] and was for a long time maintained inviolate by both nations.[2] In consequence of this league, a detachment of four thousand men is reported to have been sent over from France to assist Achaius against his neighbours; and this prince, by the same treaty, was bound occasionally to aid Charles in France. This league, if it ever existed, could not have taken place in the time of Eochoid III, for he had been dead fifty-seven or fifty-eight years, before it is said to have happened.[3]

The only motives alleged by these writers, which could induce Charles to conclude an alliance with the Scots, were perhaps a blind zeal for the propagation of Christianity, the suggestions of ambition, or, more probably, a desire of retaliating against the Saxons, with whom he was carrying on a war. He seems indeed to have sent an army into Britain, under the conduct of Andolphus, against the English Saxons,[4]—a circumstance which may have given rise to the fable of the four thousand men. The war which Charlemagne carried on with the Saxons of Germany, with a view to subdue that spirit of revolt, by which they had so often disturbed his empire, and to abolish idolatry, was begun in 772. It was not till the year 785, that the terror of his arms, or the promise of rewards, could engage this hardy race to make a public and solemn profession of Christianity.[5]

It appears, then, that no treaty was made, or auxiliaries sent over between Charlemagne and Achy III; although

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[1] Mezery, Hist. Franc. vol. i. lib. ix. p. 412.

[2] Duplex, in Vit. Char. Mag.

[3] Compare Tighernac with the old Chronicle at Paris, [illegible] A. D. 797.

[4] Conradus Urspergensis, Chron. p. 174.

[5] Eginhardus de Vit. Carol. Mag.; Adamn. Bremensis, lib. i. c. 8.

an alliance was entered into, between the Scots and that Emperor, probably some time afterwards. The Scots and Gauls were, as we have seen, descended from the same Celtic race. Although the latter were about the fifth or sixth century conquered by the Franks, many of whom took up their abode among them, they still bore a striking resemblance to the Scots, both in their language and their habits of life;—a resemblance which must, in a great measure, have contributed to cement that union, which was of such duration, and proved to be so essentially for the good of both nations. This ancient league was ratified about the end of the eighth century.[1] Charlemagne's anxiety to subdue the Saxons, by whom he was greatly annoyed,[2] is given as a reason for this treaty;[3] and as a reward for the bravery of the Scots, and the knowledge which they displayed in the arts and sciences, many of them were raised to posts of distinction and honour, on the continent.[4] Although some of our modern writers have mistaken the nature and the time of this treaty, the articles of the old league have recently been found upon record in an old register at Paris, bearing date 791:[5] an alliance which was sometimes the means of preserving the independence of the Scottish nation, when the English were disposed to trample on its liberties.

Originally fierce and independent barbarians, the Scots had sacrificed too little of their native liberty to enjoy

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[1] 800 years before 1558. Les confederationes et amitiez de France et de Ecosse—lesquels ont toujours estimé les affairs propres des uns être communes aux autres, jusques avoir des, et depuis huit cens ans ençà. Frederick Leonard, Récueil des Traitées de Paix, &c. faits par les Rois de France, tom. ii. a Paris, 1713.

[2] Chron. Melros. Adamn. 775.

[3] Polydore Virgil, lib. iv. p. 88.

[4] Paulus Æmilius, p. 421—425.

[5] Vid. Sir G. M'Kenzie's Defence of the Royal Line, against Dr Stillingfleet, p. 212, 1685.

what remained. That jarring discord, which manifested itself at the accession of every monarch to the throne, instead of preventing the formation of those clans into which the natural situation of the country divided the nation, rather facilitated their union, and was the source of innumerable wars. When Eghtagh recovered the kingdom of his father, Eochoid II, he declared himself king of Scotland; but Dungal, the son of Selvach, the late king, seems never to have acknowledged his claim. Although he must have again united his own petty state of Argyle to the Scottish dominions when he became king, yet even those of his own house submitted not to his authority, since Dunlaing, son of Duncan, erected another part of Argyle into a distinct kingdom, which was called the Sept of Argyle. Dungal, the son of Selvach, was now fully established in his little empire; and declaring war against Ireland, he went on an expedition into Ulster. This part of Ireland belonged to the ancient Scots; and as the recollection of all former feuds was buried in oblivion, they lent their aid to Eochoid III, when not only the house of Loarn, but even the family of Argyle conspired against him. Dungal, the usurping prince of Loarn, seems to have been hotly pursued by Heoghed Annuine, or Eochoid III; and in order to divert him from his purpose, Dungal meditated this expedition into Ireland. His ally Flahartac, king of Ulster, little expecting an attack from that quarter, was ill prepared to oppose him; but summoning his followers, he met him in his own dominions, and either called his fleet from the shores of the Dalreudini, or hired theirs to defend himself.[1]

Eochoid, denominated Heoghed Annuine,[2] Eochal ve-

[1] Tighernac Annal. [2] Regist. St. Andr.

nenosus, "the poisonous,"[1] seems, however, to have been but a weak and dastardly prince. Murdach, or Muredaugh, the cousin-german of Dungal, and the son of Ambkellach,[2] who had been slain by the father of this prince of Loarn,[3] bearing him an ill grudge for the murder of his father, and thinking it a fair opportunity for reviving his claim, took advantage of his absence on this Irish expedition, and usurped the throne of Achy III.[4] Scotland was at this time divided into no less than three principalities,—the independency of Dungal, who was carrying on a war in Ireland,—the Sept of Argyle, which at this time belonged to Dunlaing, son of Duncan, —and the kingdom of Dalriada proper.

A. D. 733.

Dungal, the son of Selvach, neither inherited the intrepidity nor the virtues of his father. He made a sudden attack upon the island of Culren Rigi, in order to carry off Forai, the daughter of Brude, king of the Picts, the niece of Ungiist the Great. The Picts were not long in availing themselves of such an opportunity for extending their dominions, and enriching themselves with spoil. In the third or last year of Muredagh's reign,

A. D. 735.

Ungiist, their king, enraged at the daring insult shewn him by Dungal, marched at the head of a nu-

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[1] Chronic. Melrose. He is mentioned in the Duan along with Selvach Tighernac.

[2] His accession to the throne happened in the end of the same year, in which the expedition was made. Ulster Ann. A. D. 732.

[3] The reign of this prince is said, however, to have extended to thirty years. Latin Chronicles. As he was at the head of a little principality many years before he came to the Scottish throne, he must have still maintained his independence, although he was not the most powerful prince of the land. There can be no Achy II. or Achy Annuine in 796, since Constantine succeeded at that time; and although the Chronicles do not agree exactly about the time of his reign, he was the son of Aodh Fin, and succeeded Selvach, according to the unanimous account of all these Chronicles.

merous army through the glens of Loarn, and committed great devastation in the territories of the Scots. The Picts, upon this expedition, laid waste by fire and sword. They took Dunath, or Duna, in Loarn;[1] advanced, after the blockade of this city, to Creich, which was burnt to the ground; and in order that they might be revenged on Selvach, the late king, and Dungal, who attempted to take by force his niece, put his two sons, Dungal and Feradh, in chains, and carried them prisoners to Fothertabaicht, or Forteviot, their capital.[2]

The Scots were not only subjected to the ravages of Unguist, king of the Picts, but his brother also appeared with a fresh army. Unguist directed his attack upon Loarn, which was defenceless, having neither a king to concert measures for its safety, nor soldiers to protect it from the fury of its enemies. Hostile feuds had at this period arisen to such a height among these principalities, that had the whole inhabitants perished, neither the Sept of Argyle, nor the king of the Scots, would have taken up a sword in their defence. The Picts laid their schemes so well, that the whole nation was threatened with immediate ruin. They brought not their whole forces into the field at once, in order to prevent the hazard of a defeat, lest these nations should make it a common cause, and oppose them in a united body; but the Picts first wasted Loarn, as it were in concert with Argyle: and when it was so reduced, that it could render no assistance to the other state, Talorgan, the brother of Unguist, made an attack upon Muredaugh, king of the Scots, and a sanguinary conflict ensued at Cunic Coirbre. The battle was keenly contested on both sides. Muredaugh, surnamed the

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[1] See Pont's Maps in Bleau's Atlas, No. 35. Dunath was situated in Mid-Loarn, some miles east from Dunolla. [2] Ulster Annal.

Good,[1] resented the cruelty of Unguist, and followed the course of the foe to the east, through the unknown defiles of the mountains. The Scots, should they prove unsuccessful, saw nothing before them but ruin and misery; and the Picts considered the approaching contest as the decisive blow, when either their schemes would be crowned with success, or they must be obliged to leave the country. Animated with these sentiments, many a brave Scot fell on that eventful day; and although the Picts gained the victory they paid dearly for it, and left many of their countrymen in the field.[2] Muredaugh collected the scattered remains of a once brave army, and retired to his fastnesses and forts. In the midst of these tumults,

A. D. 736. he died in 736, after a reign of three years;[3] and was succeeded by Eoganan, who, in like manner, held the reins of government for three years.[4]

A. D. 739. Aodh-fin, or Aidan the Fair, the son of Eochoid III,[5] was immediately declared King of the Scots, upon the demise of Eoghan. The Scots had scarcely begun to recover from the effects of these desperate inroads, and to apply themselves to their civil and domestic concerns, when they were again alarmed by their old enemy, the king of the Picts. Talorgan had met with such a warm reception from Muredaugh, king of the Scots, in the last engagement which he fought, that Unguist ventured not again to oppose them in their own dominions. But after a space of ten years, when his own troops had time sufficient to breathe and recruit their broken forces, he again invaded the Scottish dominions, particularly the kingdom of Loarn; and followed up his victories so well,

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[1] Duan. [2] Ulster Annal. [3] Duan and the Latin Chronicles. [4] Chronicon Rythmicum; Chronicon Pictorum; Reg. St. Andr.; and the other Latin Chronicles. [5] Reg. St. Andr.

that he crushed the house of Loarn to such a degree, that it never afterwards recovered. The Northumbrians had for a long time deferred invading the dominions of the Scots; for the two nations seem to have been on terms of alliance. But, in the mean time, directing their arms to the north, the English, under the command of Eadbert, [1] were defeated by Unguist, and left his dominions. This prince was not, however, so successful with Aodh-fin. As brave leaders, each merited the title of great; [2] and their armies meeting in the dominions of the Picts, so well was the battle contested on both sides, that the issue of the contest remained doubtful. [3] In the mean time, Dunlaing, the son of Dunchon, or Duncha-beg, the chief of the tribe of Ardgail, died, [4]—a circumstance which brought some relief to his unhappy country.

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[1] Smith's Bede, 222; Saville's Chronology.

[2] Albanic Duan for an account of Aodh-fin; and Tighernac, and the Latin Lists for Unguist.

[3] Ulster Annals.

[4] Ulster Annal. Duncha-beg died A. p. 721.

CHAP. V.

Nature of succession.—Female line.—The feudal system.—Power of the aristocracy.—Siege of Fortren.—Donal III.—Fergus II.—Doncorcal.—Conal IV.—Danish piracies.—Cause.—The intercourse between France and Scotland.—Honoughi.—The Vikingr.—Mode of attack.—Jealousy of Loarn and Argyle.—Sept of Argyle.—Principality of Kintyre.—Columcille burnt.—Angus.—Aodh II.—The sacrifice of Blackmas Mac Flain.—Eoganan.—Dungal II.—The power of the Tiernas.—The state of the Stratclyde principality.—Pictish kingdom.—Alpin.—Decline of Pictland.—Conquests in Galloway.—Extent.—Character of Alpin.—Kenneth.—The overthrow of that independent state.—Conquests in Pictland.—Subversion of that kingdom.—Siege and capture of Forteviot.—Union with Scotland.—The battle of Dunblane.—The conquest of Saxony or England.—Overrun six times.—Conspiracy against Kenneth.—Conclusion.

We are now come to that period of the history, when the nature of the succession to the Scottish crown appears particularly defective. The law of succession among the ancient Scots would at first appear to give the preference to a brother, instead of the son of the late king, when a minor, in order to avoid the consequences of a minority; but this was by no means the case. Conal I. the son of Congal, succeeded his uncle Gabran, in place of his own son Aidan; and he again seems to have been afterwards preferred to the son of Conal. Had the policy of the Scots been only directed against minorities, this certainly could never have taken place, to the exclusion of the legitimate heir, seeing that he was a cousin of the same degree of af-

finity. Nay, Connad Keir, the son of Conal, who was himself set aside by Aidan, son of Gabran, and grandson of Domangard, ascended the throne which his father had once quitted to Aidan. By this means, he excluded from the kingdom the grandson of Donal Breo I, whose father, Eochoid I, had reigned seventeen years over the kingdom of Argyle; and who afterwards succeeded himself to the throne, upon the expiry of two reigns. From the apparent regularity with which the two branches of Domangard succeeded one another in the kingdom, we would be apt to conclude that they were guided in their choice of a monarch by some regular order. The two sons ascended the throne successively; and, in like manner, the grandsons. The son of the younger branch succeeded to the kingdom of his father, and likewise the son of the elder; sometimes alternately, and always with corresponding changes, till one of the houses failed. But, when it appears that Conal I. and Dungal I, of whom nothing is known, reigned jointly, till the extinction of the Dungal race; that the surviving family, after handing down the kingdom from father to son for the space of three generations, was deposed by the house of Loarn, and to the time of the union of the Pictish and Scottish nations, was in perpetual contention with that house, we must conclude that no rule was laid down for settling the succession to the crown, but that every one who had influence enough to place himself at the head of the strongest party, might take possession of the throne.

The fabulous history of the Scots, which is given upon the authority of Boece and Buchanan, presents not a more equitable mode of succession. However much they were at variance as to the names, number, and the respective reigns of the Scottish monarchs; they were agreed in this, the illegitimacy of many of their kings, and the irregular

manner in which they generally succeeded to the kingdom.[1] It appears, then, that the succession among the Scots was elective, and that no claim to the crown continued permanent in one family, since we have seen the kingdom shared with a stranger,[2] a son disinherited by a second cousin-german,[3] and frequently by an uncle and a cousin-german.[4]

It has been sometimes affirmed,[5] that the mode of succession among the ancient Scots and Picts was similar; and in so far as election was common to both nations, this was the case. Among the Scots, election, which bore a strong resemblance to hereditary succession, since nothing but some defeat could set aside the male heir, was wholly confined to the male line. The Picts, by their law of suc-

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[1] From Fordun's Scotichronicon, lib. iii. c. 21, we find that Congal I the son of Dongard, was succeeded by Gozan his brother, before Eugene Conal, Kinnatel, the sons of Congal I. These in their turn were preferred to Aidan at the death of his father Gozan. Fordun, lib. iii. c. 26. Kenneth Keir, son of Conal, and second cousin to Eugene III, the son of Aidan disinherited him of the kingdom, at the death of Aidan, his father. Scoti chronicon, lib. iii. c. 21, 22. Eugene III, who is said to have been the son of Dongard, and grandson of Donald Brec, whose connection with the existing family, the Gozan branch of the Dongard race in 684, we are not able to trace, unless that he was one of the offspring of Fergus, ascended the throne, which, in the right of his father Ferquhard Fode, belonged to Eugene V. So little regard was paid to the legitimacy of their sovereign that we find Eugene VI, and Amber Kellath, the sons of Findan, who, in so far as our information extends, were in no way related to any one of the royal family, called to the throne. It is true that they might be connected in a collateral degree by marriage; but we can never recognise their claim to the crown, when Heoghad Rinneval, whom they succeeded, a descendant of Fergus, had at that time a son, Hethfin, (Reg. St. And. and other Latin Lists from whom Fordun had his information,) who afterwards came to the throne and reigned at least thirty years. Lat. Lists ex Reg. Pr. St. And. a folio 4 ad fol. 40.

[2] Dungal I. [3] Connad Keir. Vid. Albanic Duan.

[4] Gobran and Conal I, Albanic Duan. [5] Fordun, vi. 1.

cession, depriving the son of his natural right, not only allowed brother to succeed brother; but when two appeared equally recommended as candidates, that one was chosen, who could trace his descent from the female line.[1] It appears then, although it was not uniformly the case, that the Pictish monarchs were generally chosen agreeably to a certain mode of election; although few kings are to be found, till near the overthrow of the Pictish empire, whose father ever held the sceptre. If the succession had been strictly confined to the female line, a child, by undisputed right, might have laid claim to the crown, a practice which was never recognised in these early times. Such a mode of succession among the Picts and Scots is to be traced back to their usages regarding the rites of marriage. This most sacred tie, on the observation of which the welfare of the species in a great measure depends, was little regarded by a race of men, who were only emerging from barbarism. Like the Britons of old, their families were numerous.[2] This may be accounted for from an ancient custom observed by the inhabitants of the western isles, in the third century. The king was not allowed to marry, but was connected with any woman for whom he expressed a fancy, and dismissed her at pleasure.[3] In Scotland the crown was generally retained by the first royal family, though we have instances to the contrary; but this can easily be accounted for, from the numerous

[1] Ut ipi res venirei in dubium, magis de fœmina regum prosapia, quam le masculina, regem sibi eligerent, quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum. Fordun.

[2] An account of which we meet with in a letter of Unguist II, published by Sibbald, where no less than twelve witnesses of different fathers belonging to the royal family are mentioned. Isti ex regalis prosapia genti sunt. Vid. Sibbald's Charter of Unguist II.

[3] Solinus.

adherents which it must have gained, when invested with the highest honour of the nation, and the vast resources that such a situation placed within its power.

Every claim to the throne stands at least more recommended, to the feelings of a barbarous people, by the power and influence of the claimant, than by an inherent right he may possess in himself. The world is an unjust master, and regulates its decisions more by the law of force than of right. For how often, even in our own day, do we see nations countenancing actions which individuals dare not adventure, either from principle, or in the face of law. In the early period of the Scottish history, the maxim for the time formed the principal code of legislature, together with a few traditional customs. The feudal system soon after made its appearance. The influence of power was then more uniformly attended to, and was consequently more considerable, when divided between the king and his haughty barons, than when the commons formed an intermediate body between them.

This singular institution, the feudal system, arose on the ruins of the Roman empire. Vast swarms of barbarians poured in upon this empire from all quarters, and overturned every thing which came in their way. Considering their conquest as a common property, they divided it amongst themselves, on condition, that every freeman stationed by his commanding officer, should appear in arms against the common enemy.[1] The feudal system, though framed by barbarous nations, from different countries, who spoke various languages, was established, with little variation, in every kingdom in Europe; a circumstance which can never be accounted for, unless from a similar state of society and manners among the conque-

[1] Gregorius Turon. lib. i. c. 26, p. 214, 642, and p. 343.

rors. The Scots, though never vanquished, were in the same state of barbarism as these uncivilized nations; and we have seen that their ideas of property were fixed, and consequently that a distribution of land, the first tenure of which is always allodial, had taken place among them at least in the beginning of the sixth century. At the earliest period of the history of property, the name of freeman and soldier was synonymous.[1] But it must be observed, that the freemen, or those who held allodial property, are to be distinguished from those who held it *in beneficio*, or as fiefs, subjecting themselves to the military and personal service of that superior from whom they received it.[2] This tenure seems, in Scotland, to have been introduced, when those seeds of corruption, which are originally visible in this institution, began to manifest themselves in the ascendency which the nobles acquired over the royal authority, and consequently over the people; for, under some term of protection, it was indeed necessary that a small allodial proprietor should become the *vassus* or *vassalus* of a more powerful leader. In process of time this practice was so much abused, that every one who was not under some protector, or who had not exchanged his allodial possessions for a feudal tenure,[3] was in danger of having his land seized.

We have already seen, in the contest and battle which Aidan had with Duncath, son of Conal, before he gained the throne;[4] in the violent end of Domangard, king of Scotland, and the consequent slaughter of many of Loarn's race; in the unnatural warfare, and final overthrow of Ambkellach, by Selvach his brother; in the resettlement of the house of Fergus on the throne, by Achy Rinneval;

[1] Du Cange, Glossar. voc. Miles.
[2] L'Esprit de Loix.
[3] Const. Chr. xxiv. p. 123.
[4] Ulster Annals.

in its deposition by Ambkellach, a descendant of Loarn; and in its re-establishment and deposition a third time, in the person of Achy III, that some cause was given for the forfeiture of estates, and the alienation of ancient rights. The liberty of the common people, who, without the concession of a part of their rights already, could not have brought about such internal revolutions as took place among the ancient Scots at this time, was, by such a variety and incident of fortune, placed more within the power of an ambitious and overgrown aristocracy. In such a state, where an independent nobility had, from the elective constitution of monarchy, attained to princely power; where, amidst so many revolutions, some forfeitures of lands must have been made, the allodial, or first tenure of lands, could not long remain in its original form. It must have gradually been exchanged for dependencies, or property held on condition of military service, as the people were gathered into a few powerful and independent tribes. We cannot suppose that the numerous branches of the royal houses of Fergus and Loarn, two of whom, the sept of Argyle, and the principality of Kintyre, possessed influence enough, not only to dispute the right of the Scottish crown, but even to set up independent royalties of their own,[1] would not have laid the liberty of the common people under some effective check to rebellion, such as the conversion of some of their small landed tenures, into military, and even personal service.

Thus the bond of union between the king and nobles being extremely feeble, it is easy to see the reign of that anarchy and perpetual variance which took place at the settlement of every monarch, since the two constituent parts of the nation were always infringing upon each

[1] Ulster Annal.

other's rights. The common people, who should have formed an intermediate body, were either subjected to the dominion of the king or nobles, and, consequently, could never lessen, but rather consolidated thus acquired superiority of the nobles, which, although originally founded on subordination, had gradually verged to independence. In the history of the nation at this period, the apparent disorder of the feudal system was manifest. The chiefs of the two houses had gradually extended their prerogative over the commons, and the chieftains of their respective tribes; till, after having held the crown alternately for several generations, the weaker house could no longer brook subjection, but resolved itself into a separate kingdom.[1]

The Picts were at this time engaged in a war with the Strathclyde Britons at Cathe or Magidaive, where their brave commander, Talorgan, who wrought so much ruin in the Scottish nation, fell.[2] The Scots were thus saved from another expedition of a prince, who knew too well how to appreciate an advantage. The Northumbrians had met with a repulse from Ungust, and dreaded again to venture into the unknown defiles of the north. The house of Loarn was humbled by the same Pictish monarch. But Aodh-fin, who took advantage of these favourable circumstances, to raise the influence of the Scottish nation, became a very powerful and mighty king,[3] and held at defiance his Pictish neighbours, and the Northumbrians of the south. In the meantime this prince died, remarkable for a long and prosperous reign of twen-

[1] Ulster Annales.

[2] Tighernac; Chronicon Saxon.; Chronic. in the Welsh Archæolog. vol. iii. p. 391; and Caradoc. p. 472, 479.

[3] Ard-fhlaith Aodh-fin, Albanic Duan.

ty or thirty years,[1] and left the kingdom to Domhnald in 766.[2]

Aodh-fin could have inherited but few virtues from his father Eochoid III. who seems to have been but a man of ordinary parts. But nevertheless he was known by the title of Great;[3] and if we view him in connection with the contemporary princes of Scotland, he may have deserved it. His greatness appeared perhaps more in the field than in the cabinet. Loarn was well nigh subdued by the Picts; but Aodh-fin, by his valour and good management, arrested the progress of this victorious foe, under the command of Unguist the Great, if he did not defeat them. He seems by his prudence, which was only equalled by his bravery, to have laid the foundation of that superiority of the Scottish nation over the kingdom of the Picts, which afterwards led to their conquest. There are many features of resemblance in the character of this king, in which we recognise that of Aidan; for he did not bear a more striking likeness to him in name, than in the glory of his reign.

The Scots had now enjoyed a profound peace, both at home and abroad, for a space of twenty-seven years. The house of Loarn had been so much weakened in the bloody reign of Murdach, one of their own race, and so reduced by the continued incursions of the Picts, that it was in no condition to carry its arms abroad. After it had been considerably recruited, however, and the line of Fergus again established, hosti-

A. D. 766.

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[1] Latin Chron.; Duan Albanic.

[2] Eoghan reigned three years; and as the chronology of the succeeding kings is sufficiently marked, it is impossible that Aodh-fin could have reigned more than twenty-seven years.

[3] Albanic Duan.

lities were declared anew against the Picts.[1] The family of Argyle was at this time numerous. Aodh Mac Cairbre, although he was not king of a separate nation, but only the chief of an independent state, was styled Prince of Rechrain, and appears probably to have belonged to the house of Aodh-fin.[2] The fate of barbarous nations depends more on the bravery of the leader, than the conduct of the private individuals. Unguist, the dreaded rival of Aodh-fin, died in 761, and with him expired the energies of the Pictish nation. Domhnald III, or whoever fought the battle of Fortren with the Picts, thinking that he had nothing to fear, now that the great enemy of his nation was dead, marched his troops through the passes of Braid Alban, into the heart of the Pictish territories. He advanced rapidly, with little opposition, till he had reached the very capital of the kingdom, and encamped without the walls of Fortren, in Stratherne. Cimod, the Pictish monarch, was now driven to despair, since his kingdom and his life probably depended on the issue of a single contest. The battle was a doubtful one; and the Picts were relieved by the retreat of the Scots, who retired again to their own mountains.[3]

In the meantime Donald III. died, who was but an irresolute prince, after a reign of twenty-four,[4] or rather ten years,[5] and was succeeded by

A. D. 776.

[1] According to the Annals of Ulster, which are generally wrong, a few years.

[2] Aod Mac Cairbre princeps Rechrain mort. Ulster Annal.

[3] Ulster Annal. [4] Albanic Duan.

[5] He does not appear to have reigned twenty-four years; for this date not only disconcerts the chronology of the following kings, whose respective reigns are henceforth more accurately marked in the Duan Albanic, but also disagrees with the time of Fergus' death, which is taken notice of in the Annals of Ulster. It appears that Donald III. reigned only ten years. Although the

Fergus, either the son of Aodh-fin,[1] or Eachach III. Aodh-fionn preferred the enjoyment of a peaceful life to the harassing turmoil of war. His son or brother, Fergus, inherited the same peaceful habits. Rather than involve the nation in civil broils, he suffered a stranger, whether of royal descent is unknown, to take possession of the throne of Hetfin, or Aodh-fionn; and had he not succeeded to the kingdom without a contested election, he would probably have sacrificed, even a crown, to the delights of peace. This family, which in the reign of Selvach was contending with him for the district of Argyle, and which was again obliged to yield the Scottish sovereignty to Murdach of the house of Loarn, after having placed Achy, one of its own race, on the throne, was a second time re-established in the kingdom by its representative Aodh-fionn. Fergus, the present monarch, seems to have been of Dalriada, and not of the principality of Kintyre, or the sept of Argyle, unless they were by this time united to the Scottish kingdom. These were some of the fatal effects of an elective monarchy, which proved more ruinous to the Scottish nation, from the civil wars to which it gave rise, the foreign invasions which it encouraged, and the wretched condition to which it reduced the common people, than all the wars of the Picts, Britons, and Anglo-Saxons, which could otherwise have happened.

Latin Lists place the death of Fergus, son of Eachach, who reigned three years, (Lat. Chron.) in 780, yet it could only have happened in 779, as this term agrees with the union of the Picts and Scots, or, which is the same thing, with the death of Kenneth, from which it is calculated, and his accession to the throne, A. D. 841, according to the chronology of the Duan. Ulster Annal. 857. Register of St. Andr.; Chronicon Rythmicum.

[1] Aodh-fionn was called Hetfin, Eachoid, or Eachach III.

The Scots had, at a very early period, taken possession of those western districts, which are situated on the Solway and the Clyde, but more especially upon the departure of the Romans. The Cruithne of Ireland had by this time begun to seek out new settlements. Allured by that fertile part of Scotland which lies opposite to the northern channel, and anxious to shake off the yoke of the Scots, who had more than once invaded their dominions, and laid waste a considerable part of the country, they landed on these spacious plains, which are bounded by the Solway and the Clyde. The Cruithne had made an attempt on this part of the Scottish dominions, under the command of Cathase, the Maormer of Ulster, but were repulsed near Mauchlin, in Ayr.[1] They renewed their attack, in order to obtain a settlement in the next century, and were again defeated at Culin.[2] But their progress in this third attempt began to wear a more threatening aspect; and the Scots, anxious about the preservation of their ancient dominions in Galloway, passed over in great numbers into Cunningham and Kyle.[3] The numerous Gaelic names of places between the Solway and the Tyne,[4] especially in the western parts of that country, shew that this was anciently inhabited by the Scots, and not the Picts.[5]

Meanwhile, Fergus II. died, after a reign of three

[1] Ulster Annal. A. D. 682, 780. [2] Ibid. A. D. 702.

[3] Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib i. c. 1; Usher, Primord. p. 612.

[4] Vide Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. p. 366, 362.

[5] It is hardly possible now to adjust the respective reigns of the remaining Scottish kings, upon any other principle than that of a general chronology, and a comparison of their different reigns with some known dates; as we can have recourse to the Latin Lists but a little longer, and have hardly such information from Tighernac and the Annals of Ulster, as could enable us to correct the false numbers of the Duan.

A. D. 779. years,[1] having inherited nothing but the name, from his great progenitor, Fergus I. Doncorcai was next proclaimed king, in 779,[2] and reigned eleven years.[3] During this period the Scots were neither disturbed by foreign invasion nor civil war; and although we cannot relate the progress of bloody ambition, or detail the crimes of a whole nation, we have a fairer picture to present to the reader, where the peaceful arts of life were prosecuted with delight, and human nature wore her native and loveliest grace. The ingenuity of man is sometimes called forth by the necessities of war, and commerce receives a momentary impulse from the same cause. But it must not be forgotten, that we are writing the annals of barbarism, where a liberal policy supplied not the army, while abroad, with articles of home production, since pillage led to many of their warlike expeditions. The Scots then lived on the produce of the country, where their battles were fought, and purchased provisions with the broad-sword; and doubly hard was the lot of that country where war was raging, for it had an enemy to defend, and an enemy to support. Scotland had been the seat of war for many ages, and wearied was the soldier, and exhausted the

[1] Latin Chronology. A second Selvac has been inserted among the Scottish kings at this period, on account of the interpolation, or rather the perversion of this name, as it is found in the Latin Lists. But although several of these chronicles date his reign posterior to what the events of his life shew it to be, the length of Selvac the Second's reign, agreeing with that of Selvac I, shews that they were one.

[2] Doncorcai is denominated King of Dalriada; and as he is noticed only in the Annals of Ulster, he is thought to have belonged to the Scottish Dalriada. The length of his reign corresponds particularly with the chronology of the Scottish kings; and as the interpolation of Selvac II. would entirely derange it, it appears that he was a Scottish, and not an Irish king.

[3] Ulster Annal.

country; but the former had now time to recruit his strength, and the latter to replenish its wasted stores. Aoain had two sons; Fergus,[1] who reigned three years, and Conal IV. This last prince revived his title to the throne, after it had been alienated from the family for two generations, and was declared king upon the demise of Conal III.[2]

The Western Isles, which, for the most part, were once inhabited by the Picts, having been gradually left by them for the more fertile plains, as they moved southward,[3] being but thinly inhabited, soon drew down upon their coasts a foreign enemy. The savage inhabitants of the northern parts of Germany were straitened by the conquests of Charlemagne. Already accustomed to the perils of war, and an unskilful yet adventurous navigation, they first directed their course to the coasts of France, and the southern coasts of Britain, where they carried on a trade of rapine and plunder. Charlemagne, a zealous friend in the Christian cause, was at this time engaged in propagating Christianity by the sword. The Huns, Frieslanders, and Saxons, were yet heathens, and violently attached to idolatry. He thought to wean them from their cruel rites by force of arms, and for this purpose invaded their country with a mighty army, where idolatry was suppressed by fire and sword.[4] But these descendants of the ancient Scandinavians, being fierce warriors, were not to be dragooned so easily out of their religion. Even after he had forced many to renounce their idolatrous practices, and embrace the doctrines of Jesus Christ, they put to death the ministers of his religion. Bearing their

[1] Regist. St. Andr.; Chronicon Rythmicum.
[2] Ulster Annal. A. D. 806.
[3] A. D. 685.
[4] Vita St. Rudberti in Henric. Canisii. tom. iii. part ii. p. 340.

Christian yoke with impatience, they sent forth their pillaging bands to the coasts of France, where they soon became acquainted with Britain. This political prince, Charlemagne, carried on a correspondence with most of the nations of Europe; and as he was the most enlightened, and at the same time the most powerful prince of his age, he was the first who established a national intercourse in this north-western part of the world, which gave a new turn to the petty excursions of savage tribes, and wrought a great change on the face of things. Zealous about his favourite plan, the conversion of those idolatrous nations, and anxious for the protection of the Scottish kingdom, which was at this time the most learned in Europe, he sought an alliance with the Scots against the Saxons, who had already been driven from his own coasts, and found their way into South Britain. The Scots were not backward in embracing so favourable an opportunity of getting rid of an enemy who had already appeared on their coasts.[1] A treaty was thus concluded on the part of Charlemagne with the Scots, in 791; wherein it appears to have been stipulated, that they should turn their arms against the Saxons, on whose conquest he was bent.[2]

A. D. 791.

This was the first treaty which was ratified between Scotland and France, and to the former it afterwards proved of essential service, particularly during its wars with England. The friendly correspondence and national alliance, which took place between the two kingdoms, was preserved inviolate by the latter. When Charlemagne directed presents to be sent to King Ethelred and his bishops four years afterwards, they were no sooner delivered to the messengers, than grievous tidings arrived

[1] Vid. Register at Paris.

[2] Polydor. Virgil, lib. iv. p. 88.

from Scotland, of the infidelity of the Northumbrians, and the murder of their King Ethelred.[1] The emperor was so inflamed with rage at these disastrous events, that he would have pursued them with the bitterest resentment, but for Alcuin his preceptor. The Scots were greatly esteemed for their fidelity and valour by this enlightened prince, and were raised to the first dignities of the French empire.[2] Those who had forcibly abstracted the effects of the Scots church of Honaighi in Jersey, disturbed the religious establishments of that people, or received any part of the property set aside for their maintenance, without the permission of the abbot, were required, by his royal mandate, to make restitution of the same, whether they were lands, vineyards, men, silver or gold. In France, the Scots were indeed a highly favoured race. The king, who extended to them his protection, pledged himself that no person should spoil them of their effects; and so far did those privileges extend, that no ecclesiastic who did not belong to their race, was ever permitted to take possession of a Scottish church.[3]

A. D. 793. The Saxon spoilers, who infested the maritime coasts of Scotland, were denominated Vikingir, on account of their extensive piracies, a term which either signifies "a military man," or "king of the sea." Acquainted now with the wealth and splendour of France, and driven perhaps from her coasts by Charlemagne, the leading monarch of Europe, they sought after that plenty and abundance, which had exceeded their gayest fancies; and continued their course from year to year, till they at

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1 Alcuin. Epist. ad Reg. Offam Merciarum: Vid. Gulielm. Malmesbur. Hist. l. 1.

2 Paulus Æmilius, Epist. ad Charlemagne.

3 Mandatum Charlemagni propter ecclesiam Honaugiæ. Ibid.

last entered St George's channel. They made their first appearance in Wessex in 787, where they slew one of the magistrates of the land.[1] In 793, they laid waste most of the islands of Britain, and afterwards burnt the
A. D. 794. monastery of Rechrain.[2] But as their leader was slain in a skirmish, and the remainder put to the sword, they ventured not yet to attack some of the islands in the interior.

The house of Loarn had by this time become more jealous than ever of the powerful family of Argyle. It embraced every opportunity of humbling this great enemy; and when no other means could be used, it employed even the secret assassin. Conal IV. had been raised to the throne, but he did not long enjoy this envied honour, for he was privately murdered at Kintyre, probably by the emissaries of the rival house.[3] Although his death is said to have happened in 806,[4] it appears, from the general chronology of the succeeding monarchs, that he left the kingdom to Constantine in the year 796.

The Saxons, encouraged by the success of their for-
A. D. 796. mer cruise, and allured by the spoils which they had carried off in the second year of Constantine's reign, infested with their piratical incursions the coasts of Ireland and Scotland; for Dalriada was by this time so denominated,[5] and carried away the spoils of the sea.[6] Continuing their incursion round the western coasts, and enraged at those who professed the Christian religion, two years afterwards they burnt the famous monastery of Hyona,[7] and sailing to the isle of

[1] Chronic. Sax. p. 64.
[2] Ulster Annal.; Chron. Sax. p. 66; Alured. Beverl. p. 109.
[3] "The killing of Conall Mac-Aoain at Kintyre, 806." Ulster Annal.
[4] Ulster Annal. 806.
[5] Ulster Annal. A. D. 797.
[6] Ulster Annal. A. D. 801.
[7] Martyrol. Hibern; Ulster Annal.

Shepey, they pillaged it, and escaped without damage.[1] In the preceding year, these pirates had landed off Dorsetshire with thirty-five ships; and being met by King Egbert at Charmouth, they made a stout resistance, and maintained their ground so well, that they effected an orderly retreat to their ships, although with the loss of many men.[2] As they were thus unsuccessful in England, they turned their arms upon Scotland. Not content with scouring the Channel, and making a prey of those vessels which unfortunately came in their way, the Saxons directed their insatiable rapine against the only sanctuary of real learning which Europe at that time possessed; and consumed a second time to ashes, in the fifth year of Constantine's reign, the famous monastery of Hyona, together with the city of Columcille.[3] These barbarous nations were yet infidels; and from the manner in which they had been treated at home, the name of Christian carried along with it, according to their notions, every thing that was cruel. Having met with a vigorous resistance, both from the Scots and English, they entered into an alliance with the Britons of Cornwall. Although with their new allies they had indeed made an attempt on the country of Devon, and were again defeated by Egbert, king of the Saxons, at Hengesdown, they did not as yet give up their views of conquest and plunder.[4] It was never the intention of the Vikingir, however, to come to any general engagement. They usually run up their small vessels into creeks and rivers, for the purpose of carrying off spoil; and from their success, they were afterwards induced to seek a settlement in the island.

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[1] Chron. Saxon, p. 72.
[2] Ulster Annal. A. D. 801.
[3] Chronic. Sax. p. 72; Ethelward, lib. iii. c. 2.
[4] Ibid.

Destitute both of the principles of Christianity, and the feelings of humanity, they put to the sword, some years afterwards, with savage cruelty, all the monks of the religious house of Lxvii, in Hyona, amounting to sixty-eight.[1] Such an act of unrelenting atrocity was unworthy even of a barbarian, for the rudest savages have a superstitious veneration for the religious orders. But Charlemagne, who courted even the infidel Saracen, that he might crush the Greeks,[2] carried his unprincipled ambition under the mask of religion so far, against the Huns, Frieslanders, and Saxons, that he forced them by fire and sword to renounce their idolatry, and embrace Christianity.[3] Exasperated even to madness at the cruelty of this prince, and groaning under the yoke of papal Rome, it is no wonder that the Gentiles, as they were called by the annalists of ancient times, vented their resentment against every thing pertaining to Christianity. Constantine expired amidst these inroads, so fatal to the interests of literature, after an inglorious reign of nine years.[4]

The sept of Argyle still continued a separate principality from the kingdom of the Scots proper; and although Aodh Fionn, the son of Eachoid III, Fergus his brother, and Conal IV, the son of Aoain, who were all of the family of Argyle, had reigned successively in the kingdom; this sept seems still to have maintained its independence. We left Dunlaing at the head of his little principality, at a time when instant ruin threatened the whole Scottish kingdom. But neither the storm which burst on the house of Loarn, and almost overwhelmed the race, nor the threatening aspect of affairs which loured upon the Scottish nation,

[1] Ulster Annal. A. D. 805. [2] Baxnage, Hist. tom. ix. c. 2. p. 40.
[3] Vita St. Rudberti in Henric. Canisii, tom. iii. part ii. p. 340.
[4] Duan.

when its army received a total defeat under the command of King Murdach, a descendant of the same house, seem to have molested Dunlaing in his little kingdom. Secure from the calamities which fell upon the nation at this time, it was not his policy to intermeddle in their affairs. He neither sought to oppose Loarn, his paternal enemy, nor Murdach, the usurper of the Scottish nation, but lived in peace, surrounded on the one hand by the Picts, who had meditated the conquest of the whole kingdom, and on the other by the prince of Loarn, and the king of that country, to which his petty state had originally belonged. But it was his good fortune, that their own dominions were then at stake.[1] After they were at leisure to attend to their home affairs, they found themselves so reduced by these Pictish wars, that they were not in a condition to bring back the sept of Argyle to its allegiance. Thus it continued to increase in strength, from one resource to another, till at last, after a long reign, Angus the son of Dunlaing, ventured to become a candidate for the Scottish kingdom.[2]

The sept of Argyle and the Scottish nation were at this time sadly harassed with a civil war. The house of Loarn was the sworn enemy of Argyle; and the partisans of the reigning monarch, Constantine, must have taken part on the same side. Aongus was supported by Conal the son of Neill, Congach his son, and Fingalach his brother. The contest was a sanguinary one, and fatal to Fingalach, the son of Dunlaing.[3] But his party finally succeeded. Conal the son of Neill, and Congalach the son of Aongus, triumphed at last over the tribe of Argyle, and seemed to have main-

A. D. 799.

[1] Tighernac and Ulster Annal.
[2] Ulster Annal. A. D. 799.
[3] Duan Albanic.

tained their suit so well, that upon the death of Constantine, some years afterwards, Aongus was proclaimed king in 805.[1]

A. D. 805. Loarn was by these successive defeats greatly weakened; and Argyle, which had now become very powerful, seems to have owed its success in these numerous struggles for the throne, between the two royal houses, as much to the number of its noble adherents, as to the bravery of their princes. It could boast of many gallant families; and among others Moolduin Maccinfaola, chief of Rathboh, of the family of Columcille, was not the least of its brave supporters.[2] In the first year of Angus's reign, the inhabitants of Hyona began to repair the breaches made by the Gentiles in the island, and rebuilt the city of Columcille at Kelle.[3] Aongus was slain,[4] after a reign of nine years,[5] though his death has been placed in 811.

A. D. 814. Aodh II, who succeeded him in the kingdom, appears either to have been a vicious prince, and given over to every species of wickedness, or at least to have incurred the marked displeasure of the monks of Hyona; for the men of Columcille, in the second year after his accession to the throne, went in a body to Tarach to curse him.[6] He died after a reign of four years, and was succeeded by Eoganan.

A. D. 818. The cruelty and rapine of the Gentiles was again renewed against the inhabitants of the isles; and instigated by the same feelings, so abhorrent to Christianity, they directed their fury principally upon Hyona, and sacrificed as a victim to their pagan idolatry Blackmac Mac Flain in Aoi Columcille.[7] The Saxons, although

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[1] A. D. 805. Albanic Duan.
[2] Ulster Annal. A. D. 806.
[3] Ulster Annal. A. D. 816.
[4] Ulster Annal. A. D. 816.
[5] Annals of Ulster. Duan.
[6] Ulster Annal. A. D. 824.

they sometimes alarmed the distant isles by surprise, especially Hyona, which seems to have been the object of their religious abhorrence, and cruelly put to death their prisoners, were nevertheless repelled by the ancient Scots, and appear not for a long time after to have been able to make any footing in the northern part of the island. Charlemagne, who concluded an alliance with the Scots against this people, encouraged them to guard their coasts from the infidel Saxon. As a reward for the observance of this ancient alliance, and their struggles in the common cause, he advanced some of their sons to posts of the highest honour in France;[1] and gave encouragement to many learned men, who resorted to his court from Scotland.

The monks of Hyona began to be alarmed at the progress of these Saxons. A veneration for the relics of departed saints manifesting itself at the same time in Scotland, Diarmaid, Abbot of Aoi or Hyona, left that place, with some of these relics, in the tenth year of Eoganan's reign; and owing to the danger of navigating the northern channel, which was infested with bodies of pirates, and the dread of falling into their hands, did not reach Ireland for the space of two years afterwards.[2] Eoganan in the meantime died, and Dungal II. now took possession of the reins of government.

The great Tiernas of the kingdom had been long disposed to attend to the administration of their own private affairs. They had from time to time made encroachments on the royal prerogative, during the two preceding centuries, but especially in the last. It was at length reduced to the mere name,—a thing which any of them might have obtained, if he could buckle on the sword, and by main

[1] Paulus Æmilius, p. 421, 425.

[2] Ulster Annal. A. D. 830.

strength put down every usurper. Argyle had been king, Kintyre succeeded him, Loarn fought his way to the throne, through seas of blood, and several strangers were proclaimed kings of Scotland, who claimed no kindred with her royal families. The Scottish crown frequently depended upon the issue of a single battle, and was lost and won in one day. It belonged neither to Loarn nor Argyle, but like a hireling, it was tossed about, and he who paid most for it, wore it with its dear-bought honours. The Scottish barons could make little more infringement upon the prerogative of their king, unless to deprive him of his crown. But fearful of hazarding the loss of their own lordly principalities, by so dangerous an experiment, they seem chiefly to have directed their attention to the management of their own private concerns, during the last fifty years. The beneficial effects of this policy were now beginning to appear. Every succeeding king since Fergus II, though his son was seldom able to preserve the conquests of his father, insensibly extended his influence, by not openly calling in question the privileges of his subjects. In the meantime, Dungal II. died after a reign of seven years, and left the kingdom to Alpin, who appears to have been a prince of the house of Fergus.[1]

The Stratclyde Britons had but a petty state, and seldom ventured to declare war, unless when their independence was at stake. England was the hot-bed of civil discord, and foreign invasion; for the Danes had by this time spread their Gothic swarms around her coasts,[2] and found the Heptarchy no difficult conquest. The Vikingir, about the same time,[3] landed among the Picts, and were met by King Uen, who has-

A. D. 839.

[1] Vid. Appendix, Note Q.

[2] Mathew Westminst.; Greg. Turon.; Saxon Chronic. [3] A. D. 839.

tened to the defence of his people. After a well-contested battle, he was slain, together with his brother Bran, and a number of the Pictish chiefs, fighting against these savage invaders.[1] The Pictish affairs were rendered still more desperate, by means of the jarring discord of their own chiefs, and the civil wars to which it gave rise; and thus Alpin, who was a man of great decision and parts, came to the throne at a time most favourable for extending the royal authority. The Scottish chieftains were united under him by the bonds of the strictest harmony. The nation had experienced the bad effects of its former disunion, and saw, not without apprehension, the progress of the Saxon arms in England, amidst the dissentions of the Heptarchy, and the jarring discords of its petty chiefs.

The Pictish kingdom, which, from the beginning, manifested symptoms of a speedy decay, a circumstance to be referred to its elective monarchy in the female line, began now visibly to decline, upon the internal disorders and foreign invasion with which it was threatened. Alpin was a valiant prince, and distinguished for his intrepidity and martial achievements. That he had any pretensions to the Pictish kingdom by marriage, or otherwise, is a circumstance, at this distance of time, very uncertain; for no credit can be given to the fabulous accounts of Boece[2] and Buchanan, that the male stock of Hungus being extinct, he laid claim to the crown, as nearest heir, in right of his sister's son. Taking advantage of this favourable opportunity for invading the kingdom of the Picts, and, no doubt professing some such right, he rushed down from his hills, with his hardy mountaineers, and made a brave attack upon the Picts of Galloway. The Gallowegians,

[1] Chronic. Pictorum; Ulster Annal. [2] Boece, lib. x. fol. 196.

who had renounced their allegiance to the Pictish monarch, were accounted braver than the other inhabitants of Pictavia,—as their country was more frequently the scene of action. They had not only to maintain their own independence against their countrymen, the Picts, but also to protect themselves from the inroads of the Saxons of Northumbria, their southern neighbours, and the Danes. They advanced to meet the Scots under the command of Alpin; but nothing could withstand these fierce mountaineers, who were united man to man, and chief to chief. When Alpin set sail from Kintyre, he landed in the bay of Ayr, on the sea-coast of Kyle. The fertile country between Ayr and Doon was soon laid waste with fire and sword. After several engagements, in which many brave men were lost on both sides, the Picts surrendered to the Scots that part of Galloway which lay to the south-east of their dominions;[1] and the Scots immediately took possession of those conquests. To this invasion has been ascribed the origin of those fables regarding the extirpation of the Picts,[2] which disgrace the early part of our history. It could not have been directed against the kingdom of the Caledonians, which is situated in the north-east of Scotland, and not in Galloway.

On the fall of the Northumbrian kingdom, one part of the Picts seized Galloway, and became quite independent both of the English and Caledonian nations. That part of Bernicia which lay adjacent to the British kingdom, was called a province of the Picts; and its inhabitants belonged to that nation, even while it was independent of the Bernician monarchy.[3] They had before this period re-

[1] Regist. St. Andr. [2] Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 330; vol. ii. p. 160.
[3] Bed. lib. iv. 26; Carta apud Langhorne; Chronic. Reg. Ang. p. 226.

covered "the land of their possession" to the south.[1] The "Saxons never sent a rapacious tax-gatherer to exact tribute of the Picts, or those of Galloway who had redeemed their possessions, since the battle of Guerchlumga ran,"[2] and probably not from the time that they had yielded to Egbert's arms in 756.[3] Galloway once extended from the Clyde to the Solway.[4] During the confusion occasioned by the settlement of the Danes in Northumbria, which lasted nearly two centuries, Whithorne, and the southern parts of Galloway, were taken from the Angli by the Picts, about the year 820. Upon the decline of that kingdom, they extended their dominions into Wigton and Kirkcudbright shires, part of old Galloway, while those on the east seem to have re-annexed to their possessions Roxburgh and Dumfries shires.

It appears, then, that Galloway, on which Alpin made a descent with his army, was inhabited by an independent tribe of the Picts, which may have led to the easy conquest of Pictavia, for it is not to be supposed that the Picts, who were an independent and distinct race of people from the inhabitants of Galloway, although originally the same, would look with displeasure upon the fall of an alien tribe, which had renounced all allegiance to the Pictish sovereign. Encouraged by this success, and already grasping at the conquest of the whole kingdom, Alpin could not rest satisfied with those acquisitions which he had already made, but led his victorious arms into the centre of Galloway. The enemy made a vigorous defence. But the Scottish troops bore in upon them; and after several decisive strokes of valour, by which they effected a great slaughter among the enemy, they made themselves

[1] Beda, A. D. 685.
[2] Sim. Dun. p. 105.
[3] Nennius, App. c. 64, edit. Bertram.
[4] Vid. Pinkerton, part v. p. 210.

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masters of the country.[1] Thus he succeeded in uniting to the Scottish dominions the independent state of Galloway, after having conquered, and almost destroyed, that part of the country, which lies between the Scottish sea and the river Tweed.[2] Alpin was at last slain, when he had laid waste the country, and almost extirpated the inhabitants of Galloway,[3] after a reign of three[4] or four years.[5] He fell by the weapon of a private chief, in Dalmelinton, in Ayr, and Lach Alpin, "the stone of Alpin," distinguishes the spot where he lies.[6]

This prince made more conquests during his short but active reign, than the Scottish kings had done since the time of Aidan. He knew both how to conquer, and how to improve a victory. None of his predecessors, the Scottish sovereigns, made a more distinguished figure in the field; and few united so closely the independent chiefs of the west, whose jarring interest had well nigh proved Scotland's overthrow. Decisive and bold, he knew no danger; yet cautious, relentless, and inured to hardship, he could surmount the greatest. His reign was prosperous, and he died a hero.

Kenneth was immediately called to the throne, and succeeded his father at a time most favourable for
A. D. 841. the extension of the Scottish dominions. The Picts no longer enjoyed the protection of those isles, lakes,

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[1] Reg. St. Andr.

[2] Terrarum omnem a mari Scotico, usque ad flumen Twedie, usurpavit. Polychronicon, l. i. p. 210.

[3] He wan of war all Galloway; there was he slain, and died away. Wynton, Chronicle. Alpin fil. Hoched Annuine regnavit rex; et occisus est in Galwithia. Chronicon de Dunblane.

[4] Lat. Chronic. [5] Duan.

[6] Vid. Chart. de Ayra a Gulielm. 1197, probably near Lacht-castle, Nether Laicht, or Over Laicht. Alpin occisus est in Gallowathia, postquam eum penitus destruxit, et devastavit. Regist. St. Andr.

and inaccessible mountains, which had formerly been the safeguard of their independence, before they began to move southward, but became an easy prey to the fierce inhabitants of Scotland. Uvein, the Pictish king, who had not only to contend with the Scots, but the Danes, had lost his life in defending his country.[1] Together with him fell the son of Unguist, and a vast multitude of his followers.[2] The nation was in consequence much weakened by these repeated invasions, and became an easy prey to the ambitious views of the Scottish monarchy. It has been said,[3] that no conquest of the Picts took place about the time of the union of that people with the Scots, but rather that the latter were vanquished under Kenneth, their own monarch. This opinion was founded upon some indirect authorities, which, although they bear testimony, that a Scottish prince had succeeded to the Pictish kingdom, are nevertheless silent upon the conquest of the latter country.[4] Kenneth, son of Alpin, succeeded Bradi, the last king of Pictland,[5] and died the sovereign of the united kingdoms.[6] The testimony of these ancient chronicles, instead of militating against the conquest of the Picts, rather supports it. Bridi, son of Dergard, is termed, in many authentic records of antiquity,[7] the last of the Pictish kings of that race; and Kenneth, the son of Alpin, the first of the Scottish monarchs who reigned over the united kingdoms of

[1] A. D. 839. Chronic. Pictorum.

[2] Awn Mac Aongus; Bran Mac Angus. Ulster Annal.

[3] By Mr Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 150.

[4] An old Irish translation of Nennius, quoted by Lynch; Tighernac; the Annals of Ulster; the Duan; and Caradoc, a Welsh writer who lived A. D. 1190.

[5] Lynch's Irish Translation of Nennius.

[6] Tighernac; Duan; Ulster Annal.; Caradoca, a Welsh writer, A. D. 1190. Chartul. St. Andr. with some other authorities.

Scotland and Pictavia.[1] To say that no change happened in North Britain during the time of Kenneth, would be doing an outrage to the oldest fragments of our history; for the Duan, which marks him as one of the Scottish kings, and the regular inheritance in the monarchy, so different from the former elective system common to both nations, seem to indicate a revolution more particular, than either an election by party influence without bloodshed, or a perpetual alliance and union of the two kingdoms.

Alpin had already overrun, and subdued the most part of Galloway. The conquest of this province seems to have been contrived with the greatest prudence; for the Scots made their first descent upon Galloway, which had been erected into an independent kingdom. As it was situated at a distance from the parent country of the Picts, and seemed to be on terms of alliance with a nation, whose right to its allegiance and authority it had long disclaimed; there was little chance that the Scots would be molested in their progress by Pictavia. Had they ventured to attack that kingdom first, it is not at all improbable, that the Picts of Galloway might have been prevailed upon to assist their countrymen in the interior. A province, which has declared itself an independent kingdom, is always readier to carry assistance to the parent nation, when it is in absolute want of it, than to receive any at its hand. Thus, although the Scots might conquer two kingdoms, one by one, it is hardly to be supposed, that they could have subdued them, when closely united together.

Kenneth seems, in a great measure, to have inherited the

[1] Chronicon Pictorum.

virtues of his father Alpin; but although he appears to have been a brave prince, and a hardy soldier,[1] he had not the obstacles to oppose which his father overcame. Alpin united in one body the fierce and haughty chieftains of the west, whose interests were jarring, and several of whom had already proclaimed themselves princes of separate kingdoms. But these were now linked together by one pervading principle, the love of conquest and plunder; and Galloway suffered so much by the barbarity of these times, that many fables, which date their origin at this period, speak of its final destruction.[2] The Scots saw prospects of extensive conquests before them, and they were unanimous in the cause of devastation. The Pictish nation was even a more easy conquest than the independent province of Galloway. That nation had been gradually drained of its native youth; and so laid waste by the civil wars which distracted the country, that it was little prepared for foreign invasion, at a time, too, when rebellion had reared its standard at home. Wred, the son of Bargoit, the Pictish monarch, was rather a weak and dastardly prince. During his short and disastrous reign of three years,[3] to add to its other evils, the nation was at that time smarting from the invasions of the Vikingir.[4] Uen, their king, had fallen, as we have seen, in defence of his country. Bran sacrificed his life for the safety of his brother's kingdom; and many Pictish chiefs fell in the struggle with the Goths, Vandals and Huns.[5]

Soon after the death of Alpin, Kenneth advanced into Pictland at the head of a gallant army, the chief of a gal-

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[1] Cliionnaith Chruaidh. Duan Albanic.

[2] Henry of Huntingdon; Roger of Chester, in Bibl. Haul. &c.

[3] Chronic. Pictorum; Regist. St Andr.; and Chron. Rythmic.

[4] Ulster Annal.

[5] Chronicon Pictorum; Ulster Annal.

lant clan. He took one fortified camp after another, till he had penetrated through the greater part of those places of strength, in which the Scots and Caledonians usually secured themselves, by ramparts of wood and stone.[1] After he had pursued their main body, which fled before him upon the issue of several skirmishes and engagements, he at last gained a decisive battle, where the slaughter of the Picts was immense, and the loss of his own troops considerable.[2] Although Kenneth fought several hard battles with the Picts, his progress seems now to have been more like a march, than that of a soldier at the head of an army fighting its way. He traversed the country in every direction; sought out the enemy in their lurking places, who had dispersed themselves into small bodies, and pursued them with fire and sword. The devastation which marked his progress during these conquests, was fearful. But the enemy were either brave to the last, and stood forth for their rights and their liberties, till they were cut to the ground, or little quarter seems to have been given by the conqueror; for all are agreed that the conquest was complete, and the massacre dreadful.[3] Kenneth carried his conquests far into the interior of the Pictish dominions; and after he had fought and won a series of great battles with that nation, he sat down before their capital, Forteviot, which is situated in Stratherne. The last effort of a nation about to redeem its liberty, or to perish in the attempt, was dreadful; and although many

[1] Cæsar and Tighernac, or Annal. Ulster.

[2] Chronic. Append. Innes, No. 4, written A. D. 1165—1214; Henry of Huntingdon, fol. v. 217.

[3] Cum a suis filiis Alpini primus Scotorum rexit,—quos, ut diximus, Cinadius delevit. Chron. Pictorum.

sealed this bloody war with their lives,[1] the city was eventually taken, and Bred the last king of the Picts slain.[2]

In the meantime, the Britons, taking advantage of these unsettled times, directed their course to Dunblane, which, being drained of its native youth, and but partially defended, was soon levelled with the ground.[3] So fearful was the devastation, which followed this war between the Picts and the Scots, and so dreadful the slaughter that ensued, that several ancient writers, maintaining that the Picts were destroyed root and branch, assert the extirpation of the whole race.[4] They appeared, indeed, to have been so far extinct, that all which is recorded of them since that period, in ancient history, looks like a mere fable.

But the ambition of Kenneth did not rest satisfied with the conquest of the Picts. He had so far succeeded in keeping under subjection the ancient Maormors of the Scottish nation, that his plans were nearly accomplished; and to this policy was he indebted principally for the conquest of the Pictish kingdom. The plains of England were desolated by the disturbances of the Danes, who fought many battles in East Anglia, Lindesey and Kent. Kenneth, sensible of the advantages which he possessed over them, bore down against this distracted country at the head of his brave Scots, and overran all Saxony.[5] But, although his victorious arms had vanquished the English, he was unable to preserve his conquest for any length of time, owing to the diversity of interest to which he had

[1] Fordun, lib. iv. c. 4. [2] Chron. Pictorum.

[3] Dublaan, Chron. No. iii.; Innes, Append.

[4] Fordun, lib. iv. c. 4. Roger of Chest. in Bibl. Harl. No. 655, observes, that the chiefs were invited by the Scots to a feast, and there destroyed.

[5] Giraldus, Polychronicon, p. 210.

to attend; for the Picts, extremely uneasy under their new yoke, were ready to revolt upon the first opportunity. These disturbances being in the meanwhile quashed, and the ringleaders of the hostile party subdued, he again pursued his English conquests. If we may believe an historian who lived some time after this period, he overran and subdued Saxony or England no less than six times.[1]

The capital of the Scottish dominions had formerly been situated in Argyle, west of Drumalban.[2] But the seat of empire was now transferred from thence by Kenneth beyond these mountains,[3] either to Fothnertabaicht, or Abernathiac, the capital of the Pictish kingdom, where Kenneth assumed the reins of government. From this time, the united kingdom seems to have been known by the name of Scotland. Kenneth was hardly established in his new dominions, when he seems to have had reason to dread some foul conspiracy against his life and kingdom, among his new subjects the Picts. Looking upon this new conspiracy, not without some apprehension of danger, he was much perplexed what measure he should adopt, in order to put an end to these secret machinations. He appears to have been a prince much tinctured with the spirit of the times, fierce independence, and cruel barbarity. If we may credit the details of ancient times, he invited all the Pictish chiefs to a feast in his new dominions, where they were all slain by the sword.[4] But although the disastrous conquests of the Scots are magnified to a great degree, yet it is a mere

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[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, Polychron. p. 210.

[2] Citra Drumalban, sed minus ultra. Chronicon Rythmicum, c. 4.

[3] Chronicon Rythmicum, et Chron. Paslat. Trans Drumalban.

[4] Hawl. N. 655.

fable, that the whole Pictish nation was destroyed and cut off to a man.

Thus, Kenneth I. coming to a kingdom, whose dominions his father Alpin had extended over all Galloway, performed a stroke of valour in Caledonia, which none of her former monarchs could ever achieve; and established the two kingdoms in that internal quiet and prosperity, which, in that rude age, a precarious alliance could never have effected.

Quos, ut diximus, Cinadius delevit. Chronic. Pictorum. Though delere means, in the strictest sense, to destroy; yet, in its most general acceptation, as in the Annals of Ulster, A. D. 681, it signifies merely to ravage or conquer. Orcades deletæ sunt a Bruide.

BOOK II.—CHAP. I.

The extent of the country.—Drumalbane, or the Grampian mountains.—The Scottish dominions in Wales.—The acquisitions made in England in the sixth century.—Settlements of the Picts.—The encroachments of the Saxons.—Settlements in Ireland.—In Inverness.—Boundaries of Galloway.

THE extent of the ancient Scottish dominions, it is somewhat difficult to determine, as they naturally changed with almost every successive revolution in the state. It is probable that the Scots could not lay claim to much of the country, when their principal colonies first came over from Ireland, in the middle of the third century. For we have seen that they continued to receive numerous emigrants from the parent country, particularly till the fifth. It has been said, [1] that besides the western provinces and isles, they held the northern districts beyond the Cairn of Month, or the Grampian hills. On the contrary, the Scottish dominions have been confined to Argyle proper, Kintyre, Knapdail, and some of the western isles, which lie adjacent to Ireland, exclusive of Mull, Iona, and even Loarn, one of the royal residences. [2] But it will appear that these boundaries varied at different times; and that perhaps neither of these accounts are entirely to be depended upon.

[1] Bocce, p. 11, 12, edit. A. D. 1575; Leslæi Hist. p. 54.
[2] Camden in Scotia.

The Picts, in the seventh century, were divided from the Scots by the Dorsi Montes Britannici.[1] The palace of Brude, at the north of Loch Ness, where St. Columba met with a Prince of Orkney, was situated, with respect to Icolmkill, "on the other side of Drumblain."[2] The Grampian mountains, which run down by Athol to Loch Lomond, were thought to be those between Brude's palace, to the north of Loch Ness, and the territories of the Scots, since they are situated due east from Icolmkill. But by the dorsi Britannici montes, are understood that chain of the Grampians, which extends through Badenoch, towards the sea-coast of Knoydeart, opposite the isle of Skye. In one of those journeys which Columba made to the court of King Brude, he remained some days in Scia, or Skye, where he slew a boar;[3] and it is obvious that the dorsi montes Britannici, over which he passed, were those lying between Athol and Knoydeart, near the isle of Skye.

It appears, then, that there are two branches of the Grampian mountains, which were called Drum Albayne; and by means of these we are enabled to mark the boundaries of the nation, at this early period. These mountains were accounted the marches at the northern extremity of the Scottish dominions, at the time that its Irish colonies made their final settlements, from the period when they took up their abode in Caledonia, about the middle of the third century. But every successive colony had gradually extended the national dominions to the north; and

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[1] Pictorum plebe et Scottorum Britanniæ, quos utroque Dorsum montes Britannici disterminant. Adamnanus, edit. Bolandi, 1660; et MS. King's Library.

[2] Trans Dorsum Britanniæ. Adamnan. Vit. St. Columb.

[3] Aprum. Adamnanus, Vit. St. Columb. lib. i. c. 12, edit. Messingham, § 31.

that part of Albany over which Fergus reigned, extended from Drumalban, or Brunalban, even to the Irish sea and Inch Gall,[1] or those western islands which are denominated Skye and Lewis.[2] It might from thence be inferred, that the Scots in the seventh century possessed all the western coast-side, even up through Ross-shire; but it appears that the island of Hyona was situated near the confines of the Picts.[3] The Western Isles in the neighbourhood of Argyleshire, as far as Skye, belonged to Scotland, together with the districts of Lorn, Argyle, Knapdayl, Cowel, Kintyre, Lochaber, and part of Braidalban. It was bounded on the west by the Irish sea, and on the north and east by Drumalban and the Grampian mountains.

But although the additions which the Scots made to their dominions on the northern side of the island, where they were surrounded by their friends and allies the Picts, were very inconsiderable, they pushed their conquests farther to the south. The union between the Picts and the Scots had been again renewed before the departure of the Romans. They were linked together in close alliance, and with their united arms attacked the feeble Britons, who were incapable of making much resistance. As they fled before them, they took possession of the island up to the wall of Northumbria, now deserted by its former inhabitants,[4] and laid claim to the whole country as far as the wall of Severus;[5] but these possessions were sometimes

[1] A monte Brunalban, (Drumalban,)—usque ad mare Hibernia, et ad Inch Gall. Adam. "Fergus steired beyond the Drum." Winton's Chron.

[2] Insula Pictorum quædam monstratur in oris Fluctivagæ suspensa salo, cognominis eo. Walafrid. Strabo. Vide Note Appendix.

[4] Scoti et Picti redeunt, ea totam ab aquilone insulam vacuam prope indigenis, muro tenus capessunt. Ado.

[5] Ethelwerd, Angl. Script. fol. 474.

lost and sometimes regained. The Scots, moreover, carried their victorious arms to the very capital of the British provinces;[1] and upon the departure of some of the Romans from the island, the greater part of the midland country between the walls fell into their hands. In the end of the fourth century, this people, with their Irish colonies, penetrated far into the dominions of the enemy. Although the Romans sent from time to time different bodies of men, they seem to have made little impression on the hardy nations of the west, who beat them back, till they had reached, as far as Wales by the sea-coast. Here the Scots subdued the regions of the Demetæ in South Wales, which, at that time, embraced that part of the country now known by the name of Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan shires. This last district was pitched upon for their head quarters; which, together with these possessions, they retained for a considerable time. Several years afterwards they took possession of the isle of Man; but they were soon obliged to give up almost all these conquests, as they lay, for the most part, in the midst of an enemy's country, and were besides at a distance from the Scottish nation.[2]

The Scots and Picts, with their united armies, made a desperate attack on the Britons upon the final departure of the Romans, and had so terrified the small residue of that people who still remained, that they sold their estates and returned to Rome.[3] The former, or rather their Irish allies, quitted for a time the Roman part of the island, but are said soon afterwards to have returned.[4] These, together with the Picts, took possession of the province of Valentia, which they continued ever afterwards

[1] Gildas, Hist. p. 14, 19; Bed. lib. i. c. 23. [2] Nennius, c. 64, 66.
[3] Zosimus, lib. vi. [4] Gildas, 19, 20; Marianus Scotus, lib. ii. p. 374.

to retain. The Scots lived in the western, and the Picts in the eastern part of this Roman province; and with these conquests the latter seem to have rested satisfied.[1] That part of the country of which the Highlanders had taken possession, was ancient Galloway, which comprehended the tract of land that lies between the Solway and the Clyde.[2] This they retained for several centuries, and although it was wrested from them, the remaining part of its original possessors must, at least, have constituted the greatest proportion of its inhabitants, since the Gaelic was the common language of that county in the sixteenth or seventeenth century.[3] The Scots were an active and brave people. Not satisfied with the acquisitions which they had already made, and ever intent upon conquest and plunder, they carried terror and desolation even among the southern Britons. They spread themselves over the whole of England; and although, on the arrival of two succeeding colonies from Scandinavia, they were obliged to relinquish a great part of these conquests, they still retained a considerable proportion of what was afterwards converted into the ancient kingdom of Northumbria.[4] Thus the Scots had added to their dominions that part of the island which is now known by the name of Stirlingshire, part of Perthshire, Renfrew, Lanark, Ayr, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigton shires, north of the Northumbrian wall at the Solway and the Tyne.

[1] Marianus Scotus, lib. ii. p. 374. Denique subactum, Picti extremam ejusdem insulæ partem, eam sibi habitationem fecere, nec ultra exinde hactenus valuerint expelli. Paulus Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 649.

[2] Kail, Cunningham, Renfrew, and Strathern, were situated in Galloway. Chart. Eccl. Glasg. fol. 3.

[3] Buchanan, lib. ii. p. 34.

[4] Paulus Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 649; and Nennius, c. 37, p. 137.

—the eastern part of Valentia being possessed by their neighbours and allies the Picts.

But the permanent conquests of this people were still more extensive beyond the Northumbrian wall. The subjection of the whole kingdom was at this time meditated by the Scots.[1] After several successive encounters, they penetrated, as we have already seen, though Maxima, or Yorkshire, passed the Humber, and took possession of the whole country north of that river.[2] Vortigern, who took the field against them, lived in Kent,[3] and the northern part of the island seemed to have been abandoned, as they went forward in their victorious career.[4] Their progress was indeed rapid, and their conquest would have been complete, had not the Saxons at this time come over to the assistance of the Britons. They had in the meantime entered Lincoln, where the enemy dared hardly to meet them in a regular engagement; for their first rencounter with the Saxons was more a skirmish than a regular battle. It was not till they had reached Stanford, which is situate on the southern part of Lincoln, or the border of Rutlandshire,[5] that the united Saxon and provincial armies faced them in the field of battle, and put a stop to their farther progress. The Saxons by this time saw the feeble efforts of a nation, which was only emerging from a long and continued slavery. As they had settled on the confines of the Picts, being unable to oppose the Scots, and at the same time to preserve themselves from the in-

[1] Gildas, c. 20. [2] Huntingdon, fol. 178.
[3] Nennius, c. 35, 45, 46; Huntingdon, fol. 178.
[4] Paulus Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 649.
[5] Inierunt certamen contra Pictos et Scotos, qui jam venerunt usque Stanfordium, quæ sita est in australi parte Lincolniæ, distans ab eo quadraginta milliariis. Huntingdon, fol. 178.

roads of the Picts,[1] they concluded in the same year[2] a treaty of peace with the latter, and turned[3] their arms against their employers. The Scots are said to have been accompanied by the Picts on the southern expedition;[4] but it appears from a much more unexceptionable authority, that this nation alone harassed the Britons, and advanced into the centre of their kingdom.[5] An alliance was immediately concluded with the latter, after they were driven back by the Jutes,[6] upon one of those predatory excursions, which they sometimes made, from the time when they had taken possession of the extreme part of the Roman island, that is, the province of Valentia.[7] Thus the part of Maxima, or Yorkshire, which fell to the lot of the Picts, was at this time very small; but the conquests of the Scots extended to Stanford, forty miles south of Lincoln,[8] and within eighty-nine miles of London.

Ochta and Abisa, at the head of the northern Saxons, settled near the wall called Gual, or the Northumbrian wall, among several islands beyond the Frisic sea, which was situated between the Britons and the Scots of Northumberland, Durham, and York. They were confined to Lancashire or Cumberland, where there are several isl-

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[1] Bed. lib. i. c. 12, 15. [2] A. D. 449.

[3] Bed. lib. i. c. 12, 15; and Huntingdon, fol. 178.

[4] Huntingdon, fol. 178; vid. supra, quotation.

[5] Residui Britannorum, dum continuo Scotorum impetus formidarent. Ultro jam de Romanorum diffidentes. Anglorum gentes invitavere. Paulus Diaconus, lib. xiv. p. 649. Invitabo itaque filium meum (Ochta or Abisa,) contra Scotos. Nenn. p. 37, 137. Ethelward and Malmesbury attribute this expedition to the Scots, and not the Picts.

[6] Tum subito initio, ad tempus fœdere cum Pictis, quos longius jam bellando pepulerunt; Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i.

[7] Requieverunt; prædas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes. Bed. lib. i.

[8] Stanfordiam,—distans ab ea (Lincolnia) quadraginti milliariis. Huntingdon, fol. 178.

ands; and their dominions reached even to the frontiers of the Pictish kingdom in Valentia.[1] It appears, then, that the Scots had added to their kingdom not only Northumberland, Durham, York, Lincoln, but most probably Nottingham and Derbyshires, which are north of Stanford, the boundary of their conquests toward the south. For many years the seat of war, which was carried on between the Saxons and the Britons, was confined to Lancashire, Cheshire, and Cumberland, where many battles were fought.[2] Till about the beginning of the sixth century, when Arthur made an excursion from Cumberland to Northumberland,[3] the Scots seem to have remained undisturbed in those possessions which they had gained by the sword. If Deur-Oberneich signifies Yorkshire, the Saxons of the north carried their arms into that country,[4] and were attacked at Cattreath.[5] But it was not till Ida came over from Germany, upon the death of Arthur, in 547, that the Scots lost those dominions which they had acquired in the former war with the Britons. He reconquered Hamborough in Yorkshire; and before the year 560, his dominions extended even from the Humber to the Scottish sea,[6] which were divided into two kingdoms.

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[1] Occupaverunt plurimas regiones et insulas trans mare Fresicum; i. e. quod inter nos (Britannos) Scotosque, usque ad confinia Pictorum. Nennius, c. 19. Juxta murum qui vocatur Gual, c. 37.

[2] Nennius, c. 67, gives an account of the Angles of the north, and their wars. Higden, p. 225, from Ruidulphus. Vid. Brompton, c. 1153, for an account of Arthur's four victories. Evans, p. 41, relates the progress of the war in Cumberland.

[3] In ostium fluminis, quod dicitur Glen. Nennius, c. 63.

[4] Soemil—qui primus superavit Deur Obetneich. The enlarger of Nennius, 116, who lived in the ninth century. [5] Evans, p. 69.

[6] A flumine Humbra, usque ad mare Scotiæ. Brompton, c. 779.

Deira and Bernicia.[1] The territories of the Scots were, however, bounded, in the end of the seventh century, by Fethanlea and Leitheth, on the eastern borders of Westmorland; and here Aidan, after several battles, put a stop to the progress of the Saxon conquests, and fixed the southern limits of the nation.[2]

In the end of the seventh century, during the reign of Aidan, they added by conquest the Isle of Man[3] to their territories, which were now become extensive. They also gained several victories in Ireland; but seem at that time to have made no farther improvement of them, than to renounce any dependence of a servile nature, which might have subsisted between them and the Irish Scots.[4] But their acquisitions of territory in the south were of short duration; for Edward, king of Northumberland, reconquered the isle of Man, and even extended his arms to the coasts of Argyleshire, where he overran the Hebrides.[5] Aidan had however made some conquests in Ireland, where he fought several successful battles.[6] Donal Brec led a great army into Ireland, and gained a victory on the plains of Moyrath, in the next century.[7] Although he was far from being successful, and made good his retreat into Scotland again, the Scots seem nevertheless to have effected some permanent settlements in that country; for we find Dungal keenly engaged in a war with Flahertac, king of Ulster,[8] in the eighth century. This people had long continued to possess Galloway. It was

[1] Quæ duæ regiones fuerunt in una regione, id est in Deirabernath (Deira et Bernicia,) or Deira and Bernicia. Nennius, c. 65.

[2] Saxon Chronic. p. 22; Ethelward and Florence; Ulster Annal.; Adamnan. Vit. Columbæ, lib. i. c. 8, 9; Tighernac.

[3] Ulster Annal. A. D. 581. [4] Tighernac and Ulster Annal. A. D. 579. Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 9. [5] Ulster Annal. A. D. 579.

[6] Ibid. A. D. 637. [7] Vid. Tighernac Annal.

indeed one of the earliest conquests that they made. But the Cruithne, a tribe of the Picts from Ireland, had threatened its inhabitants with several invasions, and, in the end of the eighth century, obtained some footing in the country, which afterwards became an independent state, and was partly inhabited by the Picts.[2] Before the middle of the eighth century, the accessions made to the Scottish dominions were considerable, and extended along the western shores of the Irish sea, far into the north.[3] It is however probable, as the Picts could not have become so numerous at one time, as to inhabit all Galloway in addition to their other dominions, that the Scots took possession of those western isles, which they left for the more fertile plains of the south. These boundaries of the kingdom seem to have remained with little alteration, as long as Scotland, peculiarly so called, was a distinct nation. During the reigns of Selvach, Achy III, and Murdach, when the Scots were frequently in the field, the nation seems rather to have been embroiled in civil disorders, than employed in extending its local boundaries. In the reign of the last of these kings, it was subject to the ravages of a foreign enemy, the Picts, by whom it was greatly weakened and reduced. We do not indeed find that their dominions were lessened by these invasions; but they were so wasted, that the Scots are taken little notice of by the annalists of the middle ages.[4]

Donal Brec fought a battle in Inverness-shire. Although he was taken by surprise, in one of those narrow glens in which the country abounds,[5] and was obliged at that time

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[1] Bed. lib. i. c. 1; Vid. Usher, Primord. p. 612. [2] Vid. supra.
[3] Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 1. [4] Vid. Tighernac, Ulster Annal.
[5] Glenmoreson.

to consult his safety by flight,[1] he does not seem to have quietly yielded up all his conquests.[2] Ergadia, which received its name from the peculiar circumstance of being the seat of the ancient Scots, seems to have been very extensive before the union of the Picts with that nation. This kingdom was bounded on the north by Loch Marie, by Loch Ewin Ross-shire, by the ocean on the west, and the Grampian mountains on the east;[3] and was divided into north and south Argyle.[4] South Ergadia extended at least a little north of the isle of Skye,[5] and Drumalban, or "the back of Albany," which separated the Scots from the Picts, reached even to the mouth of the Spey.[6] Thus the Scottish nation, which had been gradually increasing in physical strength, as well as in the extension of its territories, had now become superior to Pictland, which soon yielded to the ancient Scots, and was incorporated with their dominions.

Alpin was a brave and magnanimous prince. He lived at a time favourable to the ambitious views which he appears fondly to have cherished, and added much to the ancient dominions of the Scottish nation, and its renown in arms. The Picts, the rivals of our Scottish mountaineers, were by this time greatly enfeebled by civil war;

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[1] Tighernac, A. D. 838; Ulster Annal. A. D. 837.

[2] The boundaries of Ergadia extended "ad marchias Rossiæ." Chart. Randolph. 1312 by Rob. I.

[3] Per mare usque ad marchias boreales Ergadiæ, et sic per marchias illas usque ad marchias Rossiæ. Chart. Randolph. 1312 by Rob. I.

[4] David II. made a grant of the lands of Kentaile in the northern Argyle, to Reginald, the son of Forkil. MS. in the Pap. Off. 1312, and William, Earl of Ross, gave the district of Gerloch, "infra partes Ergadiæ," to Paul M'Tyre, 1366; Robertson's Index, 98, 114. Chalmers.

[5] The district of Gerloch was in Ergadia, beyond Skye, to the north. Informatio donat. Ann. Regn. Rob. II.

[6] Manuscrip. Authent.

and it may be, that the tame and level country of the Picts was not favourable to the growth of warlike habits. The Scots thus marked them for their prey; and after many hard fought battles, subdued Galloway in the time of Alpin.[1] Kenneth, the son of Alpin, removed the boundaries of the nation beyond Drumalban;[2] and even at the time when the Scots conquered the Picts, they possessed Albany on this side of these hills, but no farther.[3] Although the mountains of Drumalban are distinguished as the limits of the Scottish empire, at the time of its union with the kingdom of the Picts, yet they were so only, before the reign of Alpin; for this prince was slain in Galloway, after he had almost destroyed it.[4]

Kenneth completed what his father Alpin had begun, the subversion of the whole Pictish empire; and in 843, he ascended the throne of the united kingdom, after he had established the capital of the Scots at Fothnertabaicht or Forteviot,[5] within the Pictish dominions.[6]

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[1] Chronic. Rythmicum; Chronic. Paslat.

[2] Trans Drumalban, Chronic. Paslat., or Brunalban. Chronic. Rythmicum.

[3] Rythmicum, c. 4. Citro Drum-alban or Brun-alban, sed minus ultra.

[4] Postquam eum penitus devastavit. Reg. St. And.

[5] Chronic. Pictorum. Inn. App. p. 784.

[6] Chronic. Rythmicum, c. 4. But as Kenneth succeeded to the Pictish throne about two years after the accession of Galloway to the Scottish dominions, these Chronicles may be right in saying that the Grampian mountains, or Drumalban, the limits of the Scottish empire down to the time of Alpin, still continued to be so to the union of the two kingdoms.

CHAP. II.

Population in the time of Cæsar.—Tribes.—In Caledonia.—Britain.—Before the arrival of the Romans.—In the third century.—Population numerous.—The loss of men sustained on a single Roman expedition.—New colonies.—The tribes of Valentia.—Beyond Northumbria.—Colony of Lorimoni.—The physical strength of the nation.

Nothing can be more contradictory than the accounts which we meet with of the population of ancient nations. The fact is still true, that vast swarms of barbarians came down from the mountainous part of the country, and inundated the greater part of Europe, at a very remote period. Various revolutions had taken place among the inhabitants, in the maritime and interior parts of Britain, at a period when we had no annals to mark the changes which then happened. Many of those who lived in the northern part of the island, had gone over to Ireland, on the arrival of the Belgæ in Britain,[1] long before the first century, where they were called Scots; and those who still continued to inhabit their native land, consisted of many numerous tribes.[2] But the population of the country was greatly increased by means of those numerous colonies which found their way again from Ireland into Scotia or Caledonia, after the commencement of Christianity.

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[1] Cæsar.

[2] Ptolemy, Geograph., and the Latin Itinerarium of Richard.

The number of Scots who came over from Ireland in the middle of the third century is unknown. It is probable that they were not very numerous, as we hear nothing of them till about a century afterwards, when they were found with the Picts upon an expedition against the Roman province. But it appears, from the *Notitia imperii*, and the figure which they afterwards made in history, that they must have been, at that time, considerably increased. It is true, the country was intersected by numerous ranges of mountains, and naturally inclined to run into a barren waste, when there was as yet no agricultural operations to counteract this deteriorating principle. But were we to allow, that the foliage of the trees, and the cattle, contributed nothing to fertilize the soil, still we have an account of a numerous race of Picts, who inhabited a country equally barren with that of the Scots.

The British islands were distinguished for the number of their inhabitants, before the arrival of the Romans;[1] and in the third century, both Caledonia and Britain were very populous.[2] Immediately after the arrival of the Belgæ in Britain, some time before the Christian era, many distinct tribes of Britons went over into Ireland. They were at that time an unestablished race; and rather consulted their safety, by passing over the hyperborean ocean, than subjecting themselves to the continual inroads of this newly settled people. Upon the invasion of Britain by Cæsar, Ireland received several additional colonies.[3] Although these, and some other tribes, which settled in Hibernia at this early period, emigrated on account of an overgrown population, yet most of the suc-

[1] Hominum est infinita multitudo. Cæs. p. 88.

[2] Πολυ ανθρωπος νησος. Diodorus Siculus, p. 347.

[3] Quæ trajecerunt, p. 50.

ceeding settlements were brought about by means of the civil and foreign war, which distracted the country. [1] Severus, in his progress against the Caledonians, lost no less than fifty thousand of his countrymen, a loss which no Roman army ever sustained in any other expedition. [2] So numerous was the population of the country before this period, that Galgacus could easily muster an army of thirty thousand men against them, in the first century. [3] South Britain is supposed to have contained three hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants, upon the arrival of Cæsar. The population of the whole island, including the Belgæ, who lived on the coasts, and the indigenal inhabitants in the interior, the ancestors of the Scots who first went to Hibernia, and afterwards emigrated into Caledonia, [4] was at that time innumerable. [5] Tacitus [6] and Dio [7] both mark the powerful and numerous clans into which the country was afterwards divided. Each of the thirty-eight tribes into which Ptolemy parcels out Great Britain, is calculated to have contained about twenty thousand persons of both sexes. [8] We know, that ten thousand men were slain in one battle, by Galgacus, the Caledonian chief; [9] and whatever might have been the precise number of the inhabitants of Scotia, in the third century, we know that it must have been considerable. The produce of the soil was not at that time great. It was generally suspended in caves for its better preservation during the winter. [10] But it must be

[1] Aliasque nationes, quas trajecerint, vel Divitiacus, vel duces alii victores, aliis domi tumultum fecerunt. Itinerarium of Richard, p. 42 and 46.
[2] Dio. in Xiphilin.
[3] Tacitus, Annal. lib. xiv. c. 34.
[4] Vid. supra.
[5] Cæsar, p. 86.
[6] Tacitus, Annal. lib. xiv.
[7] Xiphilin, ex Dione in Nerone.
[8] Vid. Henry's History of Britain.
[9] Tacitus, Annal.
[10] Diodorus Siculus, and Solinus.

kept in view, that the warlike part of this society, which consisted of the greater number, lived more on the pillage of the British provinces, than the flocks and wild game of their own forests.

The number of the Roman troops, which the Scots and Picts had to oppose, amounted, about the beginning of the fourth century, to upwards of forty-four thousand,[1] besides the native Britons, and auxiliaries of Roman legions, which were numerous. As the southern part of the island, northward to the Solway and the Tyne, was converted before this period into a Roman province, the Picts and Scots must have been very numerous, before they could have maintained their ground against so powerful an enemy.[2] The Scots were joined in the year 395, by such a body of auxiliaries, as seemed to put all Ireland in motion.[3] They were at this time so numerous, that they took the field against the Britons, and the whole Roman soldiery in the island, who were then somewhat reduced in numbers. Advancing with confidence, they fought their way into the centre of the kingdom, unsupported either by the Picts or Saxons, and conquered almost all the extensive dominions of the Demetæ in Wales.[4] Though every successive body of Irish Scots who settled in Caledonia, previously to the middle of the third century, are not taken notice of by ancient writers, yet several colonies must have passed over from Ierne[5] or Hibernia[6] into Scotland before this period.

The inhabitants of Caledonia were not increased by

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[1] Vid. supra, the History of the Scots.
[2] Zosimus, lib. iv. p. 74; Prosper. Chronic.
[3] Totam cum Scotus Iernam movit. Claudian, lib. ii. de Laud. Stilich.
[4] Nennius, c. 6. p. 102, and 142. [5] Claud. de Laud. Stilich.
[6] Gildas, c. 14, 15, &c.

the ordinary means of population. They frequently received new accessions of strength from Ireland.[1] In 426, ancient writers mark "the innumerable crowds of "Scots and Picts" who went out against the Britons, and their auxiliaries the Romans, when the former seized the province of Valentia.[2] From the arrival of the first Scottish colonists from Ireland, down to the fifth century, they were closely united to the Picts, because of their insignificancy of their numbers. But they had by that time become so powerful that they dared to conquer for themselves. In the eighth year of Theodosius' reign, they took possession of all the western, and the greatest part of the midland territories, between the two Roman walls at the Solway and the Forth.[3] But as the inhabitants, upon this occasion, fled for the most part before them,[4] the Meatæ, who had been incorporated with the Scots, could only have amounted to very few. From this period, however, their independence became more visible. In the fifth century, when the Pictish and Scottish alliance was broke up,[5] they mustered a great army, and marched into the very heart of the enemy's country, where their conquests were extensive. They not only took possession of the country that belonged to several petty nations, but even united this part of the province to their own dominions, and subjected its inhabitants to their authority.[6] The Coritani in Lincoln, Nottingham, and Yorkshire;[7] that part of the Sistuntii who lived in

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[1] Gildas et Bed. Claudian, in con. iv. Honorii, v. 34.; and 1st con. Stilich. lib. ii. v. 251.

[2] Gildas, c. 9.; Tetri greges Scottorum.

[3] Scoti et Picti redeunt prope, pro indigenis muro tenus capessunt. Ado; Ethelweid; Angl. Scrip. fol. 474.

[4] Ad aquilonem insulam vacuam. Ado.

[5] The last alliance was concluded in 446; Gildas, p. 17.

[6] Huntingdon, fol. 178.

[7] Itinerarium Richard. Iter. 4. and 18.

the southern regions of Westmorland, the Ottadini of Northumberland, the whole of the Brigantes in Durham and Yorkshire, and the Voluntii of Cumberland and the northern districts of Westmorland,[1] were subjected to the Scots, and incorporated with them, until the middle of the sixth century. But this people were afterwards driven northward by the Saxons, and obliged to relinquish some of these possessions.[2] Their dominions in the midland territories, between the two Roman walls, they still continued to possess, until they had subverted the whole Pictish empire. Amongst the inhabitants of these regions lived the Damni, who, in addition to the eastern part of Argyle, possessed Renfrew, Lanark, and Dumbarton, which afterwards belonged to the Strathclyde Britons, and the greater part of Ayrshire; the Novantes, or that tribe which possessed the remainder of Ayr, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigton; and these accessions, which they made to their territories, must have more than tripled the number of inhabitants, who lived in Scotland, in the beginning of the fifth century.

The Scots were now become a pretty numerous and powerful nation. Allured by the fair prospects which were held out to them in Caledonia, their countrymen in Ireland, it is probable, still continued to emigrate in the end of the fifth, and the beginning of the sixth century.[3] The Duan particularly remarks an extension of their boundaries by Fergus, Angus and Loarn, after a signal victory,[4] which they seem to have gained upon the arrival of a new body of auxiliaries from Ireland, under the

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[1] Ptolemy, Geograph. Brit.; and the Itinerarium of Richard, p. 27.

[2] Brompton, c. 729. Vid. supra.

[3] The Latin Chronicles take some notice of this.

[4] Duan Albanic.

conduct of Lorimoni.[1] We do not, indeed, hear of other supplies of the same kind which they received from Hibernia, but it is not the less probable on this account. We know that a friendly intercourse, and even political connection, subsisted between the two nations, to the time of Aidan.[2] This prince rendered himself so famous by the numerous battles which he gained over the Britons and Irish, and the new and even distant accessions of territory which he added to his country, that it would be doing the Scottish nation an injustice to attribute this renown to his personal valour alone,[3] and say that it was not partly effected by the increase of population. He marched out against the Saxons at the head of a vast army,[4] and defeated them at the battle of Leithredh.[5]

Many other circumstances contribute to this belief. The Scots were now more a match for their neighbours the Picts, than they had hitherto been.[6] At first, when they came over from the sister kingdom, they adhered to this amicable scheme with the greatest punctuality, so sensible were they of their inferiority. They afterwards withdrew themselves gradually, upon the arrival of the Saxons in Britain.[7] But they now appeared against them in the field,[8] and eventually triumphed over this enemy, partly from their renown in arms, but more especially from the increase of population. The armies of the Scots, with which they invaded the dominions of the Picts, the petty state of Stratclyde, and the country

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[1] Lorimoni quidam primus ad Ergadiam, &c.

[2] Adamnan. Vit. St. Columb. Apud Dorsumoeti, or Drumkeat, in Ireland.

[3] See the account of Aidan's exploits, Ulster Annal. A. D. 590.

[4] Beda, Hist. Eccl. [5] Adamnan. lib. i. c. 9; Tighernac.

[6] Vid. supra. [7] As appears from the silence of Gildas and Bede.

[8] The Picts in the eighth century routed them in one engagement. Ulster Annal.

of the Saxons, were indeed numerous.[1] Ergadia extended to the frontiers of Ross on the north, and the mouth of the river Spey on the east;[2] and within these extensive dominions to the north, consisted the main strength of the nation. The population of the kingdom from this period was still on the increase, in proportion to the extension of labour, and the produce of the country, which was now pretty considerable. But notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, we have seen that the strength of the nation continued to be wasted in civil war, until the accession of the two last monarchs to the Scottish throne. By these all Galloway was conquered, and the Picts themselves subdued. The inhabitants of Scotland, about this period, amounted to not more than 350,000, including males and females. We do not indeed think that this number either overrates the produce of the soil, or the extent of their dominions, which by this time were equal to much more than a third part of the country. This number, inconsiderable as it may be, corresponds but ill with the reduced state of the population in Argyleshire,—which was but a small portion, however, of the ancient Scottish kingdom. But the extension of sheep farms, the refined luxuries of other countries, the abolishing feudal jurisdictions, ancient customs and dress, which bound down the Highlanders as it were to their native mountains, tended to diminish the number of inhabitants in these parts, by seducing and driving them from their native homes.

[1] Ulster Annal. [2] Vid. supra.

CHAP. III.

Laws. — Their source. — Celtic nations. — Their independence. — The laws of Ebudæ. — Druidical worship. — Privileges. — The murder of a husband. — Land marks. — Titles of honour. — Tiems. — Righ. — Maormor. — Tanistear. — Tanistry. — Ochlern. — Toscheadarach. — Administration of justice. — Brehons. — Galines. — Cro and Kelchyn. — Mulmutin laws. — The law of Macventium. — Those of Edafin. — Adamnan. — Courts of the clergy. — Canon law. — Regiam majestatem. — The Mac Alpin. — The feudal laws. — Those of Galloway. — The Cain and Cinneveth. — Sardit de Sergaunt.

The laws of the ancient Gaelic Scots are so little known, before the union of that nation with the Pictish empire, that our knowledge of their legislature, or rather of those customs which were observed by them, before they had exchanged the republican for the monarchical form of government, must be referred to those of the Celtic nations in general. In estimating their polity, we must impute more to the integrity or simplicity of the man, than to the excellence of their legal institutions.[1] The Celtic nations were so much guided by enthusiasm in their ideas of liberty, that they preferred freedom to life itself; and one of their first maxims in war, was a voluntary death rather slavery.[2] In the darkness which involves the history of

[1] Plus apud Celtos, boni mores valeant, quam alibi boni leges. Tacit. Germ. xviii.

[2] Nec aliud sibi reliquum, quam tenere libertatem, aut mori, ante servitutem. Tacit. Annal. lib. ii.

our remotest ancestors, it is almost impossible to trace its government through all its changes. Improvements in politics take place gradually, and keep pace with the advancement of civil society, which is of slow growth. In a state, which has become more numerous and extensive in its population, it is difficult for the interest of the community to be managed by the personal direction of every individual. It is then that the source of those civil regulations, which are distinguished by the name of laws, is laid open; when the expediency of delegation has been seen and admitted, and the interruption and confusion incident to popular assemblies abolished. Of these civil laws, unless for the better regulation of society, few were necessary, or would have really been useful, in a state whose inhabitants were swayed by one predominating principle—the love of war;[1] who attended their sovereign, in the emergency of any expedition, at their own expense.[2] The absence of those vices which exist in polished society, is perhaps the principal cause of its domestic security.[3] Although beyond the limits of the state, theft and robbery took the name of predatory war, and were esteemed honourable; yet at home they were accounted highly reprehensible, and reckoned unpardonable crimes.[4] The rights of property must be perfectly established, before its loss can be fully appreciated, or an infringement of its laws followed with disgrace. To take from an unsettled people,[5] an uncultivated heath, with

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[1] Gildas, c. 19; Amm. Marcellinus, lib. xx, xxvii; Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. [2] See Mr Macpherson's Introduction.

[3] Diodorus Siculus de Brit. lib. v.

[4] Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt. Diodorus Siculus, lib. vi. [5] Ammian. Marcell. lib. xx, xxvii.

perhaps a few cattle, however hurtful in its nature, was not, from the countenance of the times, accounted vicious; since these depredations took place between different tribes and nations, and may be considered as a species of warfare. Hence the first notion of property among the ancient Scots; and we shall see, from the laws enacted by the Druids, that their ideas of it were considerably altered, before their conversion to Christianity. Justice, in the territories of their enemy, was a virtue with which the Scots were not acquainted.[1] Valour supplied its place.[2] Their changeable disposition, and excessive love of liberty, made them careless of a condition imposed upon them by an enemy, in their distress.[3] But they not unfrequently boasted of the sincerity of their professions, and were even attached to those whose cause they had espoused, through gratitude, or from some other motive, with a devotedness seldom to be met with.[4] The department of their prince or leader was to conduct their warlike expeditions; and seldom, beyond its expiry, was he considered in any way more honourable than a subject, but in as far as a sense of his merit, in being the guardian of those customs, which supplied the place of laws, procured him their respect.

The Druids[5] took a particular interest in the management of affairs at this time. This class of men, one part of which constantly attended the armies, seems to have been the prime rulers of the nation, instead of the chiefs.

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[1] Amm. Mar. lib. xvii.

[2] Gildas, p. 13; Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 12.

[3] Polybii, lib. ii.; Gallica in foederibus inconstantia.

[4] Nullos mortalium, armis aut illoc esse, &c. Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. Vid. Macpherson's Introduction.

[5] See an account of their existence in Caledonia, under the article Learning.

It was the prerogative of the priest alone to inflict punishment on the soldier, in obedience to their gods, who were supposed to be present with the armies in war;[1] nor could princes give battle until the priest had performed their auguries, and declared them favourable.[2]

Though, at this distance of time, we can hardly give an account of the laws of the ancient Scots, before the Christian religion was introduced, it is but reasonable to suppose that they had some laws, which were tacitly acknowledged. Without a few, one order of men could have no authority over another. The inhabitants of the Ebudæ, or Western Isles, at which the Scots from Ireland probably first arrived, permitted their leader to have the full use of their possessions. They allowed him nothing of his own, lest, from motives of avarice or ambition, he might be tempted to encroach on their prerogative.[3] The laws or customs of the Celtic tribes, which, like those of several other nations in their rudest periods, were sung in verse,[4] seem never to have been committed to writing.[5]

The first law of the druidical system would probably refer to the worship of the Gods.[6] This was soon followed by others, ascertaining the honours, rights, and privileges of this order of men, declaring their persons inviolable, and providing for them immunities against taxation and military service.[7] The desire of procuring protection to their lives, properties, and persons, was a particular motive for inducing the ancient Scots to form themselves into bodies, the number of which was determined from

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[1] Tacit. de Mor. Germin. c. 7.
[2] Julii Solini Polyhistoria, Basil. sine. ann. p. 35, p. 166.
[3] Origin of Laws, by Presid. de Gogult, v. 2. b. i. p. 28, 29.
[4] Cæs. de Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 14.
[5] Diogenes Laert. in Proem. Vid. Henry, Hist.
[6] Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 14.
[7] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. 4. c. 56.

the nature and situation of the country. The cravings of nature,—the social spirit of man,—a dread of those hordes of wild beasts, which ranged the country in pursuit of prey, and the desire which uniformly accompanies savages in their progress to civilization, contributed also to strengthen the bonds of civil society. But as the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes was productive of shocking disorders, however laudable the Celtic custom was, of having no connection with a woman before the age of twenty, it was necessary, in some measure, to provide for the evil. By the laws of the Scots and Britons, which were both instituted by the Druids, murderers, robbers, and thieves, were punished with death.[1] A wife, however, if suspected of having occasioned the death of her husband, was tortured as the vilest slave, and if convicted, burnt in the most barbarous manner.[2] When the clans were thus established, it was necessary to secure the rights of property, as well as of persons, by penal laws. The removal of land-marks was accordingly one of those crimes, against the commission of which the Druids of Gaul and Britain took particular precaution.[3] The right and succession to property was also determined by the jurisprudence of the ancient Scots. The lands and possessions of the deceased never descended to the eldest son, but were divided amongst the family;[4] and when any dispute arose in the division, it was uniformly determined by the Druids.[5] But as submission to these laws was the only thing that could render them really useful, the Druids sometimes passed an interdict, depriving those of all benefit from the church, who would not yield implicitly to their authority.[6]

[1] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 19.
[2] Ibid. lib. vi. c. 19.
[3] Ibid. lib. vi. c. 19.
[4] Vid. Reg. Majest., and the Macalpin Laws.
[5] Cæsar, lib. vi.

We have already seen, that the Scots, before the mission of Palladius, had acquired some definite notions of property, and the distinctions of rank. But it appears, from some of the laws of the Druids, that the gradations of rank were such, as to require limits to be assigned to their possessions; so rapidly had agriculture and the arts of life, with other improvements, the causes of these distinctions, multiplied. To this period may be referred the origin of the word Tierna or Tieran, a title of honour, which was observed among the ancient Scots, if it was not brought from Ireland. It seems to be derived from the Gaelic Ti, "the one," and Terran, "land," a man of great landed property.[1] The Highlanders and Irish frequently addressed the Supreme Being by this name Tierna, or the Welsh Teyrn; which appears thus to have been originally a term indicating a power, than which they could conceive nothing greater.

Improvements were now so far advanced in Scotland, and the gradations of rank had become so marked, that either a stop must be put to their farther progress, or some one chosen, who could exclusively devote his attention for the good of the public, possessing a power superior to the authority of the former Tiernas, or landholders. Such an individual was called in the Gaelic language Righ, "a ruler."[2] It was at this time that Tierna, the supreme badge of honour in the nation, became a secondary one, when many Tiernas or landholders had become the vassals of a more powerful chief. The writers who treat of these ancient titles of honour, have referred them to no particular period in history, with the excep-

[1] See Dr M'Pherson's Dissertation.

[2] Rex in the Latin, Rhuy in the Welsh, Roi in the French, Re in the Italian, and Rey in the Spanish languages.

tion of the second, although they are thought to be of great antiquity. Nor do the MacAlpin laws, or other ancient chronicles, in which they are originally mentioned, allude to the date of their origin. That they were known before the sixth century is highly probable. Tierna, which signifies a landholder,[1] must at least be as ancient as the fourth or fifth century, when landed property was already divided.[2]

After the Scots were firmly united by the reciprocal ties which are peculiar to a people who had originally belonged to the same nation, and lived together as friends or neighbours, those whose abilities or bravery led them to look to the interest and protection of the tribe, soon rivetted that authority which they had acquired, and even extended their influence. These leaders were denominated Maormors, "the great officers." The maormor was the chief of a certain independent district, or petty state.[3] This was a term of pretty high antiquity, and appears to have extended probably as far back as the ancient Scottish dynasty, when its dominions were yet divided into independent principalities.[4] Righ, "a king "or ruler," evidently leads to its own origin. In the beginning of the sixth century, when Loarn, Tenegus, or Angus, were rival Tiernas, with their brother Fergus, the chief became the monarch of the nation, and must have been known in the vernacular language of his country, by the name of Righ.

All human improvements are, however, imperfect. The competition of the powerful Tiernas, and the civil commo-

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[1] Vid. supra, p. 212. [2] Vid. supra.

[3] Chronic. Reg. St. Andr. No. 3, and No. 4. Innes, Appendix.

[4] The Maormor of Murray lived in the reign of Malcolm, who died 953. Chron. Pictorum.

tions which ensued, the progress of civilization, and the distinctions of rank, were the means of introducing a new order of men, denominated Tanist, or Tanistear. This term, which signifies the second person, or heir,[1] has been frequently confounded with Thane. Before the reign of Malcolm the Second, Thane, which signifies a governor, or king's lieutenant, in a certain division of his dominions, was the highest title immediately after that of king.[2] The law of tanistry in Ireland prevailed from the earliest period of its history, and had become obsolete in that country before the reign of Henry II. This badge of distinction is generally said to be of long standing among the Scots, and seems indeed to have originated about the commencement of the Scottish monarchy. It was only to put a stop to the unprincipled ambition of the great and powerful, to repress the lordly power of rival barons, who desolated the country in their bloody contentions for the crown, that the Tanist, or successor in the monarchy was originally appointed. These contentions would be keener, and more frequent, when the recollection of their former uncontrolled independence was yet recent in the minds of these powerful chiefs, than afterwards. But, besides these probable reasons for dating its origin about the commencement of the Scottish monarchy, and the argument arising from the early term of its falling into disuse, we have seen, in our observations on the law of regal succession among the Scots, that the natural and equitable mode of transferring the kingdom from father to son was soon abolished. This could only have been done with a view to make way to the law of tanistry or election; for the kingdom was never given to one who did

[1] Lhuyd's Archæologia.

[2] Præter Thanos, hoc est præfectus regionum. Buch. in Milcolm.

not belong to the royal family of Conary II, nor equitably restricted to the lawful heir. The rightful heir was not, however, always called to the throne by election, according to the law of tanistry. Had this been the case, it would have ceased to be election, and become a regular monarchical succession. It was generally the strongest, and not the hereditary heir, that was elected Tanist, or successor to the king; but it almost always happened, that the eldest and most worthy of the king's family became heir-apparent, because he generally could command followers enough to run down all competitors. We have, however, seen instances of cousins, second cousins, and persons who had no apparent right, declared Tanists;[1] a practice which was also observed in Ireland.[2] It is obvious, then, since the Tanist generally supported himself and his followers by military imposition,[3] though certain lands were set apart for that purpose,[4] that the law of tanistry had a natural tendency to embroil families, as well as countries, in perpetual war. This was one great source of those domestic feuds, provincial insurrections, and frequent national wars, which distracted the ancient Scottish kingdom, more, perhaps, than any other nation.

But this law not only determined the regal succession of the prince, but even extended to the laird of an estate,

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[1] Vid. supra.

[2] See Sir James Ware's Antiquities and History of Ireland, c. 9.

[3] See Dr Macpherson's Dissert. p. 165.

[4] The barons of Northumbria swore fealty to Prince William, "Comes Northumbriæ," during the life of his grandfather David the First. In Dug. Monast. II. After the death of Prince Henry, the son of David, had his appanage as Comes of Northumberland. The lands and followers, which some of the Scottish princes, who afterwards succeeded to the throne enjoyed, they possessed in like manner in appanage, or as tanist.

or the chief of a clan. He was succeeded, not by his son, or next heir, but by the Tanist, who was often chosen by the sword.[1] The heir, however, who succeeded to the estate of a subject, according to the law of tanistry, was not called Tanist, but Ochiern, or Ogetharius, which is derived from Oge-Thierna, "the young laird," or heir-apparent to a landed proprietor. We are unacquainted with the precise time when this title of distinction was first introduced among the ancient Scots. It no doubt took place after the law of tanistry was established, since the division of a landed estate was not so impracticable, or fraught with such evil consequences, or strong temptations to riot and disorder, as that of a kingdom. But whatever weight may be attached to this argument, it is probable, from the nature of things, that it arose after the law of tanistry; and it will appear, from another part of this work, that gavelkind inheritance had yielded to hereditary right in general, before the eighth century.

The titles of distinction among the ancient Scots, belonged, in general, to a remote period, and are to be traced, for the most part, to some particular regarding the chief of a clan, or his family. Toiseach, which in Gaelic signifies the beginning or first part of any thing, the same as the Taisha among the Moguls or Calmucks, which implies the head of a tribe, was a term of some distinction among the Scots. But whether it belongs to an earlier or later period, than some of the last-mentioned ones, or whether it differs from them materially, is a point which does not yet seem to be ascertained. This term is said by some to have been a title of the same rank

[1] See the account of the distracted state of the ancient Scottish kingdom at this time; and Dr Macpherson's Dissert. p. 168.

as Thane.[1] The Toeshadaroch was a jurisdiction peculiar to the Celtic nations, and seems to have originated with the Scots of Galloway.[2] It was not only filled by the comes of a prince, but also by the dependant of a laird,[3] although probably at first, like that of the Tierna, it was an office of the highest importance.

The administration of justice among the ancient Scots was very simple. Nature, custom, and accident uniformly dictated the decisions: a few simple observances formed the only code of legal administration; and the ministers of justice were at first the Druids.[4] In process of time this idolatrous priesthood was abolished, upon the establishment of the Christian religion, in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries.[5] The administration of civil affairs was now divided between the chiefs of the tribes, and the ministers of the Christian religion, and seems to have been regulated both by the canon or ecclesiastical, as well as the civil law. After the country was divided into several distinct principalities, they had their Brehons, or judges, in certain districts, who were appointed to determine according to the law of equity in criminal cases, and in matters of controversy. This, together with arbitration, a mode of settling differences which cannot be too highly recommended, formed the principal code of their administration. Each district, or petty state, had its Brehon, or judge, for deciding controversies: he was a man well skilled in the laws of his country; and the sons of every

[1] Spelman.

[2] Robert III. confirmed the charter of John Lachlanson, the Laird of Durydaroch, conferring at the same time upon Duncan Dalrympil the office of Toshesdaroch in Nithsdale. Robertson's Index, p. 146.

[3] Duncan Dalrympil, "the Toiseach of Nithsdale," appears to have been a dependant of the Laird of Durydaroch. Ib.

[4] Cæs. lib. vi. c. 13, 14. [5] Tacit. Adamnan. Vit. Columb.

judge were brought up to the same profession.[1] They held their courts upon certain mounds, from whence they could be conveniently heard and seen by both parties concerned; and, for this reason, the place was commonly known by the name of Mute Hill, or the Hill of Cruelty.[2] All civil disputes of an inferior nature, and in common pleas, were determined by an unequal number of honest men in the neighbourhood. These were the ordinary judges both of law and fact, and a majority of their votes was considered as a final sentence.[3] The judge pronounced the sentence; and Galmes Cro, or Kelchyn, expressed the compensation or pledge to be made by the pannel; and sometimes a mulct for manslaughter; but as these terms are found in the laws of the Regiam Majestatem, they may be of too late a date to come under our observation.

The ancient Scots had some bodies of written law to direct them in the administration of justice. But many of these, which bear the marks of a more modern date, have by certain writers been classed among this number. The Laws of the Majestie, commonly known by the name of the MacAlpin Laws,[4] or that body in which they are included, appear probably to have been enacted before the union of the Pictish and Scottish nations into one kingdom. It is certain that the ancient Gaelic Scots had written laws before this period. The Scottish princes of the blood royal possessed too much authority, and retained too many followers, not to secure their own influence, and the

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[1] Leges MacAlpin, § 1.

[2] In colle crudelitatis, prope regale civitate Sloan, ab hoc die collis, hoc meruit nomen, i. e. collis crudelitatis.

[3] See Dr Macpherson's Dissertation.

[4] Reg. Maj. lib. iv. c. 38.

reciprocal rights of the people, by penal laws. They even directed their attention to this important part of literature at a very early date; one, moreover, upon which the welfare of the species depends, more, perhaps, than on any other branch in the circle of the sciences. The Mulmutin laws, which were either Irish or Scottish, were translated in the sixth century by one of our Scottish ancestors[1] from the Celtic into the Latin language.[2] These however were neither founded on the canon law, nor the ancient jurisprudence of the Romans, since they belonged to the Celtic race.

The Christian had long been the established religion of the nation; and as the Druids, when their superstition was tolerated, possessed great power in the state, their successors, the Culdees, preserved to themselves the right of making laws for their order and dependants. The law of Macentiam was at this time enacted, and enjoined to be observed among the Scottish clans, by Adamnan, abbot of Hyona;[3] but whether it was a body of civil or ecclesiastical law, is at this distance of time uncertain. This code appears to have been again renewed in the beginning of the eighth century[4] in 726. As Eachoid III, whose son Ed, or Aodh-fin, introduced about the same period so many new statutes into the Scottish nation, ascended the throne in the same year; it is highly probable, if they are not to be attributed to himself, that those statutes, which were then renewed, are the laws here alluded to. But as there is one code in the Scottish acts,

A. D. 690.

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[1] By Gildas Albanius, a Scotchman. For the antiquities, vid. Dempst. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. vi.

[2] Geoff. de Monmouth, lib. ii. c. 1; lib. iii. c. 2; lib. i. c. 18. King Alfred afterwards translated them into Saxon.

[3] Dedit legem Macentium populis. Ulster Annal. A. D. 697.

[4] Ulster Annal. A. D. 726.

which is expressly known by the name of Edi or Ed,[1] he seems not only to have confirmed and appointed the ancient customs and usages of the nation, to be observed as laws, including the rights of the church; but also to have added, for the improvement of his people, new enactments of his own. These laws appear to have been both ecclesiastical and civil. They were indeed more ancient than the seventh century, when Adamnan lived. That abbot appointed them to be observed by the people in the island of Hyona;[2] and they must, from the clerical pursuits of the monks, the inhabitants of the isle, for whom they were principally enacted, have been more intimately connected with the canon, than the civil law.

The high authority which their predecessors the Druids enjoyed, raised the clergy to great rank and influence. They assumed absolute rights, and established separate courts for themselves. The canon law which they adopted was founded on the jurisprudence of the Romans; and being a more perfect system, and at the same time more accurately defined than the civil law, the people soon preferred the decisions of an ecclesiastical to those of a civil court, where their claims were ascertained with justice and precision. Soon after the union of the Picts and Scots, the liberty of the church was established by law.[3] In the next century, the king and the bishops solemnly vowed, together with the Scots in general, to observe the laws and discipline of the faith, and to protect the rights of the church and her ministers.[4]

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[1] Chronicon Pictorum.

[2] For we suppose these to be the laws alluded to. Vid. supra.

[3] Chronic. in Reg. St. Andr.; Chronic. Elegiacum.

[4] Leges disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scotis. Chronic. Pictorum, A. D. 910.

The laws and statutes of Ed, or Edafin, the son of Eachoid Rinneval,[1] who lived in the eighth century, were renewed by Donal MacAlpin in an assembly of the Scots, which was held at Fothnertabaicht, or Forteviot.[2] Kenneth the First, king of Albany, after the union of the Picts and Scots, was the first who collected the Scottish laws or customs. He appointed them to be observed as regular statutes, and on that account they were called the MacAlpin laws.[3] It appears, then, that the Scots had not only national laws, in the reign of Donald, or Kenneth, but also in the eighth century. But whether the laws which are contained in the beginning of the Regiam Majestatem be the identical code alluded to in these chronicles, is even very doubtful, although some of the usages therein mentioned may be as early, if not more ancient, than even the time of Eachoid Rinneval.[4] That body of laws, however, which are termed the MacAlpin, in the Regiam Majestatem, seem too modern to have been written either

[1] See these different names in the Latin Chronicles.

[2] In hujus (Domnal II.) tempore, jura ac leges Edi filii Eodach fecerunt Goedeli (Scotti) cum rege suo in Fothnertabaicht. Chron. Pictorum.

[3] Kinedhus filius Alpini vocatur rex primus,—qui primus leges Scotianæ instituit, quas vocant leges MacAlpin. Chronic. Melros. A. D. 843.

[4] It has been supposed, by certain writers, from the words Wrang and Unlauch, found in these laws, that they are no older than the time of Malcolm III.; Bishop of Carlisle, Scot. Hist. p. 253, 260; Bishop of St Asaph, c. 1. p. 46, 47, and Sir James Dalrymple; and that they might shew them to have been written in the time of Malcolm II, they say that the Scots learned these words from the Saxons, who introduced their language into Scotland. Such an argument is however unnecessary; for the Scots might have learned the words Wrang and Unlauch from the Picts, who spoke the Gothic, German, or Scandinavian language, with whom they were long on terms of alliance.

about, or before 843. They had neither, at that time, chancellor, justiciary, chamberlain, steward of the household, nor constable, marischal, sheriff, provost, and bailies of boroughs, whose offices are particularly described in this body of laws, together with the fees, escheats, and profits of court. The term Earl, which is often mentioned in these laws, shews that they were not collected till the time of Malcolm the Second, or Third. This title has been supposed to be the same as Comes, but with little degree of probability. These two distinctions belong indeed to the same class of men. The comes of a prince was the chieftain who accompanied him to the field, and the earl was the companion of the monarch. But the one belonged to a period of society more ancient than the other, by a thousand years. Malbrigidus and Meldunnus were two Comites, who lived in Scotland during the eighth and ninth century,[1] and this epithet was common at the same time in Ireland.[2] Cæsar distinguished his companions in arms by the name of Comites; but surely no person will from thence infer, that earl is as old as the first century. This title, if it is not an interpolation, shews that many of the laws now denominated the Mac-Alpin, are not more ancient than the time of Malcolm MacKenneth, who lived in 1004; and, consequently, the laws of the Regiam Majestatem, which are of a later date even than these, have no pretensions to the middle of the ninth century.

But although the MacAlpin Laws, now known by that name, or that part of them which bears marks of a more modern origin, were not collected in a body, and written at that time, yet many of them in use among the ancient

[1] Torfæus. [2] Bedæ, lib. iii. c. 14; lib. iv. c. 4.

Scots, may have been handed down by tradition, even to the period when these were collected.

We have seen that the feudal law had made considerable progress in Scotland, before the time of Kenneth, son of Alpin.[1] It is but natural to suppose, in these troublesome times, when the nation was divided into several independent principalities, that the protection of property, and the preservation of men's lives, would be managed according to the usages of feudal times, when each chief or Tierna was an independent prince. It is an inference, which may justly be drawn from the Mac-Alpin Laws, that the feudal system had been long known in that country, before King Malcolm could be accounted sole proprietor of Scotland, so as to distribute its landed possessions among his vassals. In the eighth or ninth century the nation was split into various septs. But the idea of a justiciary with his clerks,[2] making his circuits over the country, where the sheriffs, barons, and freeholders made their appearance, is altogether inconsistent with the state of the country at so early a period, not to say absurd. There is no improbability, however, in supposing, that they had Brehons, or some such judges, for administering that justice, which the warlike habits of a Tierna or chief prevented him from executing. The opinion is warranted by the manners of the times; and the practice was observed by the ancient Scots. Neither is there any inconsistency in admitting, that they may have had statutes against regicides and traitors to their king, laws for prescribing limits to the authority of subordinate chiefs in criminal cases, and a particular punishment attached to the wilful murder of petty landholders, in order to prevent some more powerful chief from appropriating to

[1] Leges MacKenneth. [2] Leges Kenneth MacAlpin, c. 3.

himself their possessions,—a crime which was common among the ancient Gaelic Scots.[1] These are statutes described in the MacAlpin Laws.[2] In so far they were probably the code of legislation in use among the ancient Gaelic Scots, and may be the remains of those laws of Eachoid Rinneval, which were renewed by MacAlpin about the middle of the ninth century.[3]

Galloway was an independent nation[4] at a very early period, even before the overthrow of the Pictish empire.[5] The inhabitants of that kingdom had a system of laws peculiar to themselves, which were distinct from those of other nations in the same country.[6] The ancient Gaelic Scots had, at a remote period, made a conquest of most of those parts of the country, which were afterwards comprehended in the kingdom of Galloway, at the time when the Britons fled before them.[7] Many of the laws of this country appear to have been the same as those of the Scots. The insurrections of the inhabitants of Galloway, which were with difficulty put down in the time of Alexander, when a female heir was established in their little principality,[8] shew that the laws of this state were Scottish. The Picts, who must have been the predominating

[1] Vid. supra. The history of the Scots during the seventh and eighth century.

[2] Leges MacAlpin, c. 13, 14, 15.

[3] Chronicon Pictorum; Chronicon Melros.

[4] Chart. of David I; Chart. of William the lion; Dug. Monast. vol. iii. p. 88; Florence Wigorn. 35; Mathew of Westminster, 3, 78.

[5] Alpin occisus est in Galwath. Chronic. Dumblane.

[6] Regiam Majestatem; Stat. Alex. II, c. 2, 1214; Stat. Rob. I, c. 36; Robertson's Index, Postscript, p. 3; they were confirmed by Robert the Bruce. Robertson's Index to the Records, p. 13; Pref. p. 1. David II, his son, granted a charter of confirmation to the men of Galloway, Ibid. 88.

[7] Vid. supra. [8] Chronicon Mailros. p. 201.

people, after their union with the Scottish nation, preferred an heir in the female line to one in the male; [1] whereas, the Scots always adhered to an heir descended in the male line. [2] It appears, indeed, from Gallwalas, the name of this kingdom, that it was peopled by the Gael, and not the Picts, [3] since the same appellation was applied to the Gauls of France. [4] The inhabitants of Galloway were, at an early period, distinguished by this name; and the wild Scots of that country, who still inherited, in the middle ages, the bravery and ferocity of their ancestors, were, in the midst of their countrymen, the Scots, known by the same distinctive epithet. [5]

The canon law secured to the people a more equitable distribution of justice, and relieved them, in some measure, from those fearful ordeals, of fire and water, which were guided by the principle of chance. But if it encouraged an appeal from the barbarous courts of the chief, to those of an ecclesiastic, it seems also to have given rise to taxation, a system which was little known in those early times. The clergy at first lived upon the voluntary contributions of the people, and had no provision made for them by law. These free gifts were, in process of time, converted into established dues; and when they consulted the Scriptures of the Old Testament, where the divine right of the practice is established, they began to levy them as tithe. The princes of the land soon fol-

[1] Magis de fœminea regum prosapia, quam de masculina, regem sibi eligerent, quod usque ad hodie apud Pictos—servatum. Fordun.

[2] Vid. supra.

[3] Galli veteribus Galwaliæ, non Franci dicti. Wm. Malmesbury, apud Saville, Script. 25.

[4] Chronicon Saxon.

[5] Chron. Mailrose.

lowed the same practice, and from clerical tithes, which are of divine origin, sprung direct taxation. Can and Cuneveth, the first fruits, although it was originally paid to an ecclesiastic, or religious house,[1] was nevertheless a due frequently belonging to a chief.[2] This tribute or fine, which probably originated in the clerical tithe, seems to have been a tax mostly peculiar to Galloway,[3] for after this kingdom was only a Maormorite of the nation, the Scottish king was assigned his payment of the Can from that country.[4] The tax of the Can, as it was not the Surdit de Sergaunt, a grievous imposition,[5] which had never been heard of in the time of Alexander,[6] may have been exacted long before the Scottish nation lost its distinctive character and manners. It appears to have been confined for the most part to the Scots of Galloway, and to have originated in the clerical tithe, if not before

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[1] Can. Chart. Kelso, N. 1, 2, 3, 4; Diploma Scotiæ; Chart. Coldingham, p. 41; super Can, et Cuneveth hospitiis—Ecclesiarum, Ibid. p. 43; Chart. Murray, fol. 7.

[2] The Can of animals and cheese belonging to Earl David. Chart. Kelso, N. 1, 4; Diploma Scotiæ, p. 24. The Can of the Scottish kings, derived from ships. Vid. Chart. Cambuskeneth, N. 28, 29, 55; Chart. Dunfermlin.; Reg. St. Andr.; Chart. Scone, No. 13, 26; Reliquiæ divi Andr.; Chart. Kelso, No. 4; Dalrymple, Collect. 404, et Reg. Majest. Bern. MS. Coll.

[3] The Can of animals and cheese, &c. were levied in Galloway; Diploma Scotiæ, pl. 24; Chart. Kelso, No. 1,-4; and Dalrymple, Collect. 404: "Sicut servientes mei Cana et rectitudines meas ad opus meum recipiunt." Chart. Glasg. 213, in Galloway.

[4] By a Jury of Judges, A. D. 1186, Reg. Maj. or Leges Scotiæ; Bern. MS. Coll.

[5] Robert the Bruce freed the Canons of Withern—"A superdicto jurgantium." MS. Monast. Scotia, which could not therefore be the Can.

[6] Rolls of Parl. vol. i. p. 472.

the fall of the Pictish monarchy, at least soon after the conquest of the country by the Scots. [1]

[1] Can or Cain, signifies in the Gaelic, a custom or tribute, and Ceanmhath, pronounced Ceanvath, signifies first fruits; Cain-mhaith, pronounced Cenvaith, signifies the duty, or tribute paid to a chief. O'Brian, Shaw, and Chalmers.

CHAP. IV.

Poetry.—The Poetical genius of the Celtic nations.—Bards.—Their duties.—Hymnists.—The Ferdan.—The Seanachies.—The Vates.—Poets.—Enbates.—Inspired the courage of the soldier.--Ossian's poems.—Conformity of the Scottish, Celtic and Caledonian manners with those of Ossian's heroes.—Softness and colour of the hair.—Their mode of dressing.—Rites of marriage.—Divorce.—Succession.—Burial rites.—Description of the islands of Albany.—The harp.—The cruit or violin.—Their recreations.—The resemblance of their swords.—Shields.—Helmets.—Habergeon.—Similarity in the working of metals.—Retiring the night before a battle.—The shield of Trenmor.—The bards sung the war song, and encouraged the combatants.—The song of peace.—The Græcian song.—That of the Magi of Persia.—Sprinkling of the sword with blood.—The car of Cuthullin.—British chariots.—Leathern thongs.—Curraughs.—The pendragon or chief.—The twelve chiefs or counsellors.—Appellation of forests.—The stone of power.—The circle of Loda.—Scandinavian or Druidical.—The worship of stones among the Celts and Britons.—Cùrmi.—Wine.—Hawking.—Ossian, of the family of Baoiscone.—Where he lived, and when.—Compared with Homer and Virgil.—His poetry.—Melancholy.—Its beauties.—Tragical narration.—Wherein he excels.—In what he falls short of Homer.—Accuracy of description.—Comparison.—Episodes.—Delicate selection.—From whence he drew his similes.—Tenderness.—Sublimity.—Ullin.—Ardar.—Orran.—Poetry, Dramatic.—War.—Triumphal.—Elegiac.—Love and festal songs.

THERE is no circumstance more conspicuous in the history of the ancient Gaelic Scots, than their early and admirable taste for poetry. A poetical talent displayed itself amongst the Scots, long before they had made much

progress in the necessary arts.[1] It has been often asked, why nations in their earliest periods take so much delight in poetical composition, instead of the more simple and unadorned style of prose? That the natural affections are more apt to break out into empassioned strains, in a rude and barbarous, than in a civilized age, has, I believe, never been denied. But it is surely contrary to this position, if we may judge from what has taken place, and daily does take place in society, to look for compositions in philosophy, history, morality, physic, divinity, and even law, in the detail of which, passion has little share. Trite is the observation, that necessity has no law. Before the use of letters is generally known, it is difficult to engage the public attention on any subject, or transmit it to posterity, without clothing it in the harmonious numbers of verse. The charm of poetry with which it is embellished, is rather the language of the time, than any artful expedient for captivating the heart. Than that stage of society called barbarous, no period is so favourable to poetical sentiment. Human nature, in this unsettled state, shoots wild and free, and exhibits the feelings of the heart in more marked and decided characters, than when its faculties are regulated by advanced civilization. It is in this period of society that we are to look for that strong expression of poetry, which is marked by "the triumphant voice of joy, and the broken sighs of "sorrow or melancholy," when the passions are yet undisguised, and the warmth of the imagination finds language for itself.

The poets of the Celtic nations were uniformly denominated bards. They celebrated, in verse, the actions of men famous for their deeds of valour. The druidical

[1] See, for an account of the poet Sedulius, Du Pin's Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. St. Olavus Barochius, Dissertat. 2. de Poet. Lat., and Ossian's Poems.

religion was comprehended under four branches or particulars, one of which was professedly set apart for the purpose of animating the courage of the people, [1] a quality which was accounted a virtue by the ancients of every nation. However much the Druids disagreed in their speculative tenets, and were at variance in their notions of a future state, they uniformly inculcated the duties of moral virtue, the dictates of natural religion, [2] and a brave and magnanimous contempt of death. [3] It was the duty of the bards to sing the brave actions of illustrious men in heroic song, and to accompany their poems on such occasions by the sweet modulations of the lyre. [4] To these, the improvement of the moral character of the people has sometimes been attributed; to which they probably owed more, than to the dry sayings of the philosophising Druids. [5] In these early ages, when futurity was little heard of, and virtue stood recommended only by its intrinsic value in a temporal point of view, that elevation of the soul which the bards inspired was more favourable to the growth of virtue, than the cold precepts of a religious order of men. The influence which the bards derived from the instruction and amusement, with which their poems were heard by their countrymen, raised them to a high consideration in Scotland. Their genius was exerted, not only in celebrating the martial exploits of heroes, in transmitting their fame to posterity, but also in exciting the chieftains to walk in the same path of activity, and in animating the nation to deeds of valour in the field. The bards seem to have been divided into several classes. The British and Irish Scots had their Ferlaoi, or Hym-

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[1] Diogenes Laertius. [2] Ibid.

[3] Solinus, c. 15; Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.; Valerius Maximus, lib. ii.; Ossian passim. [4] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xv. circa finem.

[5] Viguere studia laudabilium doctrinarum inchoata per bardos. Amm. Marc. ibid.; M'Pherson.

nists, [1] who translated their religious tenets into verse; the Ferdan, who sung the praises of those who signalized themselves in battle,[2] and the Seanachies, who repeated the traditional annals of their ancestors. Each of these was a distinct order of men, which intermeddled not with the employment of the other. [3] The Vates, who were also bards, [4] or poets, [5] were a more distinguished class of men, than either the poets or bards; [6] and although they sung in harmonic verse, they seem to have been nearly allied to the sacred orders. The Eubates or Vates, who were priests, and much employed in philological subjects, [7] together with the bards of the Celtic nation, seem to have been disciples of the Druids. [8] There were only two orders of men in Gaul, the Druids and nobles, the common people being slaves. The former, who presided over the legislative and religious interests of the nation, were supposed originally to have come from Britain. [9] The bards were the only historians of those days. They followed their chiefs to battle, animated the young men to seek glory in the field of danger, and celebrated in martial song the deeds of departed worth. Nor was this class of men lost in the change of a national religion, [10] like the other orders of the Druids; for they continued to exercise in Britain and Ireland the same functions as they had formerly done, to a late period. It is a well-known circumstance, that every chief had, till very lately, his bards, who were considered as persons of rank, and had lands assigned them, which descended to their posterity. [11] These officers were fre-

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[1] Οι Βαρδοι, ὑμνηται, και ποιηται. Strabo, lib. iv.

[2] Am. Marcellinus, lib. v. or xv.

[3] Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ, et annalium genus est. Tacit. Germ. lib. ii.

[4] Lucan.

[5] Virg. Eclog. ix.

[6] Tibullus, Propertius, Horace.

[7] Strabo, lib. iv. p. 302.

[8] Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 13.

[9] Cæsar, lib. i. and vi. c. 13.

[10] Strabo, Diodorus, Siculus.

[11] M'Pherson's Introduction, and Dr M'Pherson's Dissertation. The se-

quently sent on embassies of importance; and their bodies were held so sacred, that they sometimes marched in between two hostile armies, drawn up in battle array, and put a stop to the contest. [1]

One singular production of these ancient bards has indeed reached us, the merits of which have occasioned no less a discussion among the learned, than the time when it was written. The poems of Ossian form an article the most interesting in Scottish literature, and, we may say, in the literary annals of Europe. The age in which they were written was a barbarous one, and has little to recommend to our notice, but details in which passion forms the chief feature, the first excellence and the subject of reprehension. The barbarians is the era of poetry, the period when the finest feelings of the human heart appear in their native simplicity, divested of every art. But it is also the period when, as man lives without disguise, so in like manner he follows the less amiable dictates of his own untutored mind, and shews himself to be what he really is, a being fraught with many imperfections. It is this undisguised simplicity, which is always exhibited in an early stage of society, that makes the history of human nature in a barbarous state more valuable. The era when most of those poems made their appearance, was, without doubt, in the third or fourth century. [2] Their history, their composition, and many other circumstances, refer them to this period;—and were we to trace out a few of the leading features in the manners and customs of Ossian's heroes, as they are described in his simple lays, and compare them with the manners of this period, we will find that they belong to a remote and barbarous age.

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cond title of the noble family of Athol, Tullibardin, is derived from lands appropriated to a Bard.

[1] Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.

[2] See the Critical Observations on the Authenticity and Antiquity of these Poems, in Note S, Appendix.

The Celtic nations were remarkable, in ancient times, for the fairness of their hair, and the softness of their natural complexion. Although the hair of the same race in Britain was not in general of such a light shade as that of the Gauls, its yellow colour seems to have been the distinguishing mark of that people. [1] The heroes of Ossian, in the third century, retained this distinguishing badge of the Celtic race, in their yellow locks, "which flowed on the "wind." [2] So much is the peculiar customs of our ancestors interwoven with our nature, that they seem still to have adhered, in the third century, to that ancient Gaelic practice, [3] of colouring the hair and the body, with a compound of chalk and water; [4] to which the Gauls sometimes added a kind of soap made of suet and ashes.[5] Flowing locks were esteemed the ornament of those ancient heroes, whose praises are so sweetly sung by the Scottish bard. [6] Among the Gauls, [7] Caledonians, [8] and other Celtic nations, they were turned over the head, and hung down in graceful braids behind. [9] Their beards, which were of no despicable length, were, according to the usages of the times,[10] confined to the upper lip,—a custom which was observed among the Scots in the third century.

The clothing of Lima, the son of Leven, was a mantle of black hide, with an apron of the same hairy untanned skin, [11]

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[1] Strabo, lib. v. p. 200.

[2] The poem, Boili Oision, and Dobhi fholt maran, "his hair like the flow-"ing gold." [3] Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. p. 212; Plin. lib. 28. c. 12.

[4] Achneas Mar, a chaile bhan, "his body like the white chalk." See the poem of Boili Oision, the rhapsody of Ossian, and Dobhi fholt maran, "his "hair like the flowing gold." [5] Pliny, lib. 28. c. 12.

[6] Ossian, passim. [7] Claudian in Ruf. lib. ii.

[8] Vita Agric. c. 21. and Dio. p. 1003.

[9] Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. p. 112. [10] Cæs. p. 87.

[11] A poem by Ossian on an interview between Fingal and his friends, and Lima, the son of Leven. Vid. Mr Donald Macqueen's Letter to Dr Blair, Report on Ossian, Append.

a garb which was peculiar to the interior inhabitants of Britain, the Caledonians, in the time of Cæsar. [1] Like the ancient Germans of Scandinavia, [2] they converted these skins, during the night, into bed clothing. [3] Upon the finger they sometimes wore a gold ring, at least the chief, or the chieftain's son,—an ornament, which the ancient Scots [4] and Caledonians used before the fourth century. [5] As gold rings were very common among the ancestors of the Gaul, [6] they may have procured some rings of this metal from that people, in their commercial intercourse with one another, or manufactured them from that metal of their own country. [7]

The rites of marriage among the Fingalians were very summary, and agree with the manner of performing this ceremony in ancient times. Either party might sue for a divorce, [8] a practice which was also observed by the ancient Britons. [9] But in case of a separation, one half of the property was retained by the husband, and the other by the wife, both among the Celtic Britons, [10] and the race of Fingal. [11] Their burial rites were also conformable to those of ancient times; for the Kist-vean, or stone chest, which consisted of four stones, [12] was covered over by the cairn,—a custom of great antiquity. [13] Within it were deposited the bones of the deceased, the hunting

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[1] Britannia interiores pellibus sunt vestiti Cæs.

[2] Chiver. Germ. Antiq. p. 119.

[3] Ossian, vol. i. p. 16.

[4] Vid. Sibbald, Erudit. Antiq. Miscel. sec. 2. who describes a number of those rings, which were found within their dominions.

[5] Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, and Herodian for a description of iron rings. [6] Diodorus Siculus, p. 351. [7] Tacitus de Vit. Agric. c. 12.

[8] Ossian, vol. i. p. 31. [9] Howel, lib. ii. c. i.

[10] Howel, lib. ii. c. i. [11] Ossian, vol. i. p. 31.

[12] Ossian, passim. [13] Kennet Par. Ant. p. 698; Vit. St. Cudberd.

horn, the boss of the shield, and other favourite articles; [1] a practice similar to that observed in Gaul and other ancient nations in the time of Cæsar. [2] In Scotland they dug their tombs on a green mound, [3] which was covered generally with stone instead of turf. [4] This ancient usage, which seems to have been peculiar to the Celtic nations, was observed to the middle ages. Nothing can indeed afford a stronger proof of the identity of one race of people with another, than a similarity of customs, manners and habits; and nothing can establish so effectually the antiquity of any literary production, as the identity of the rites and customs which it describes, with those which were known to be prevalent, at the period to which it refers. The description which Ossian gives of the islands of Albany, [5] agrees with that of Solinus, who lived in the third century. The Orkney islands, of which the Lochlynns, or "people of the wave," took possession, were merely beds of sand, overgrown with rushes, without any wood. [6] Mankind have derided an opinion, which was once entertained by our ancestors, that the ancient inhabitants of this country were indigenous, like its plants and flowers; but experience has taught their posterity, that islands, like those coral beds now appearing in the Pacific ocean, are formed by the accumulation of matter in the sea. The stores of nature are inexhaustible, her variety of being infinite, her creative power unlimited; and may not the vast variety of islands, which surround this country, being originally beds of sand, have been gradually formed in the bosom of the deep?

The harp, which, among the warriors of Ossian, served

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[1] Ossian, vol. i. p. 55. [2] Cæsar, p. 122.
[3] A poem of Fingal; see Report. [4] Vit. St. Cudbert.
[5] Ossian, vol. i. p. 14. [6] Solinus, c. 22; and Ossian, ibid.

as the music of the hall, [1] was one of the most ancient musical instruments. In the seventh century, the inhabitants of Great Britain raised the song, and tuned the harp by turns. [2] The cruit, or violin, so frequently mentioned in these poems, [3] was a well-known ancient instrument in Britain and Ireland. [4] It was frequently handled by the bards, who delighted in all kinds of music; and the Pyrrhic dance was sometimes made by the warrior over his sword, [5] a species of amusement common to most of the Celtic nations. [6] The heroes of Ossian were excellent swimmers, [7] hardy warriors, and expert at every manly pursuit. [8] They frequently exercised themselves in these warlike amusements, which exhilarated their spirits, and added strength and agility to the bodily frame. Both the Mæatæ and Caledonians were highly commended for the eminence which they had attained in this art. They could pass over a river by swimming, when they could not scull a boat; [9] and both the Scots [10] and Caledonians were patient of toil, hardship and hunger. [11]

The long [12] massy sword [13] was a weapon peculiar to the latter. [14] The habergeon and polished helmet, which were used both by the heroes of Fingal, [15] and the Dalriads, or Scots, [16] were, by the latter, made of beasts' skins. [17] The

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[1] Ossian, vol. ii. p. 67. [2] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 24.
[3] The Poem of Fingal,—Bas Oision. [4] Dissertatio de Bardis, p. 80.
[5] A Howdir soo Ossein.
[6] Strabo, lib. iii.; Xenophon Expedit. Cyr. lib. vi.
[7] Bas fhraoich. [8] Ossian, vol. i. p. 40, 42.
[9] Xiphilin ex Dione in Nicæo. [10] Gildas, p. 17, 22.
[11] Xiphilin ex Dione Nicæo in Neronem.
[12] Albin, and the Daughter of May.
[13] See the Poem A Howdir soo Ossein. [14] Agricol. Vit. lib. 36.
[15] See the Poem of Ossian, ibid. supra.
[16] Reg. Maj. Gul. Stat. c. 23, 52. [17] Hadrianus Junior. Nomenclat.

"black ribbed shield of the arm,"[1] which probably alluded to the Gaelic custom of inlaying them with cast representations of animals,[2] was marked with figured spots, both by the followers of Ossian,[3] and the inhabitants of Albany.[4] The shields of both were small, light, bossy targets, of a hollow circular form.[5] They rung,[6] when struck against the brazen cnapstarra,[7] probably because, like those of the Celtic nations in general, they were embossed with metallic figures of animals, which were slightly raised.[8] The spears of the Fingalians,[9] as well as those of the ancient Scots, were sometimes sharp, short weapons,[10] known by the name of guaine darts.[11] At other times they were long polished weapons, curved in the point,[12] with which they generally did much execution. These warlike instruments were formed from metallic substances, which were numerous in the island. Both the Scots and Caledonians, in the third and fourth centuries, as well as their ancestors and descendants who lived in the time of Ossian, had made some progress in the mechanical arts; and nothing, indeed, can be more striking, than the resemblance which they bore to one another in this particular.

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[1] Ossian, ibid. Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. § 30, p. 353.

[2] Conloch, "red shield." A Howdir soo Ossein.

[4] Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 6.

[5] Ossian's Poems, vol. i. p. 206; and A Howdir soo Ossein, "hollow "shields," compared with Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. 36; Xiphilin ex Dione in Neronem. Quis rotundam facere cæteram nequit? Varro. Herodian, lib. iii. c. 47. [6] Ossian, ibid., and Death of Carril. [7] Dio, p. 1281.

[8] Diodor. Seoul. Rer. Antiq. lib. v. c. 9; Varro; Herodian, lib. iii. c. 47.

[9] Vid. A Howdir soo Ossein, "two javelins stood on the hollow of his "shield;" and Fergus, the bard, "keen spear."

[10] A representation of the Scots bidog in the University of Glasgow.

[11] Vid. Conloch.

[12] Albin and the Daughter of May, or Bas fhraoich. See Dio, for an account of the Caledonian spear.

Iron founderies were established not only in the southern part of Britain before the reign of Tiberius, [1] but even among the Caledonians. [2] It was at these iron manufactories where the armour of the Fingalians was forged: [3] nor were these unknown to the Scots and Caledonians in the third and fourth centuries.

Fingal and Ossian generally retired the night before the battle, where they raised their courage, by holding converse with the ghosts of their fathers. [4] The same practice was observed by Fergus, the son of Areath, or Arch, the first Scottish king, "who gathered battles in his "soul," [5] and with the morning went out to meet the foe. Their diversions were all calculated to nourish the sullen spirit of war. Tournaments were common in these seasons of festivity, [6] and the soldiers frequently contended for the honour of the spear. [7] About the middle of the fifth century the same warlike diversions were common among the South Britons; but the famous Arthur of the round table was the first who instituted a military order, and diffused a spirit of chivalry [8] among those who were afterwards called the warriors of Arthur. [9] When they were about to prepare for war, the bard went at midnight to the hall where the clans were feasting, and fixed the shield of Trenmor on a tree, on the rock of Selma: this he struck with the end of the spear, singing the song of

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[1] Strabo, p. 305. [2] Iron money, Herodian.

[3] Ossian, vol. i. p. 14, 45, and 62. [4] Tighmora, v. 257.

[5] See the Poem beginning Mac Arcaith nan ceud Strol.

[6] Ossian, vol. i. p. 75, 78. [7] Ossian, vol. i. p. 108.

[8] Arthurus, qui labantem patriam diu sustinuerit, infractasque mentes civium ad bellum accuerit; Malmesbury, 4 fol.

[9] Slomarch, p. 123; qui milites Arthuriani prædicantur, quæ authorem his viris plane contemporaneum plane attestantur; a bard of the seventh century; and Gildas, c. 26.

war. The same ceremony he repeated three successive nights, "to call them from all their streams," invoking at the same time the spirit of their fathers to come on the clouds and see their strife.[1] The ancient Caledonians, who also struck the spear with its brazen ball against the shield, in order to terrify the enemy's cavalry,[2] sung the war song to the gathering clans, when they set out to battle.[3] Both the bards of Ossian,[4] the Ferdan of Caledonia, and the bards of the other Celtic nations, attended the army to the field. There they acted sometimes in the capacity of messengers between two clans.[5] At other times they supported the drooping courage of the combatants, by singing the gallant actions of their departed ancestors, and reminding them of the deeds of their fathers.[6]

This practice was very ancient. The Grecians sung the orthean song in the Trojan war.[7] The Magi of Persia, who were of the order of the Druids,[8] observed the same custom, together with the Indian tribes, and it prevailed all over ancient Scandinavia.[9] This species of song was generally delivered in a short and rapid kind of verse.[10] By the same magical measure, Tyrtæus, about six hundred years before the Christian era, awakened the souls of the ancient Lacedemonians, to deeds of valour.[11]

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[1] Tighmora. Duan iv. v. 148.

[2] Xiphilin ex Dione Nicæo in Vit. Sever. [3] Dio, p. 1010.

[4] Ossian, vol. i. p. 54. [5] Ibid.

[6] Amm. Mar. lib. xv; Diod. Sicul.; and Fing. lib. iv.; Fing. vol. i. v. 299–310, the war song of Ullin.

[7] Homer. Iliad xi. 13. [8] Plin. Hist. Nat. [9] Tacit de Mor. Germ.

[10] The war song of Ullin, vol. i. p. 166. v. 299, &c.

[11] Tyrtæus, Antwerp. edit. 1568. See Ossian in the original Gaelic, in 3 vols.

Thus the Celtic nations,[1] and the heroes of Ossian, by their manners and customs, were inspired with a thirst for fame and fearless courage. They not only encountered danger without fear, but entertained even a contempt for death,[2] which they looked upon as a passage into Flath-innis, "the noble isle,"[3] or the Elysian fields[4] which were situated in Caledonia.[5] So great was the ascendancy which the Bards had over the minds of these fierce barbarians, that they put a stop to the actual engagement of two hostile armies, drawn up in battle array.[6] The most powerful of their chieftains would not have dared to lift up his sword against the Bard, although he bore him a mortal grudge.[7] Some of the bards of Ossian sung of the exploits of their forefathers,[8] and were probably of the order of the Seanachies, who repeated the fabulous annals of their ancestors.[9] Others celebrated the praises of those who fell like heroes in the field of danger,[10] and appear to have been the same as the ancient Ferdan, who raised the song to those who had signalized themselves in battle.[11] The armies of the Fingalians and Celtic race raised a hideous yell as they approached the enemy to join battle.[12] When the fight was over, the Fingalians[13] and the ancient Cale-

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[1] Valerius Maximus, lib. ii.; Cæs. lib. vi. c. 14.

[2] Cathula and Ossian, passim. [3] Ossian's Poems.

[4] Virgilii et Horat. [5] Plutarch de orac. et facie in Orb. Lunæ.

[6] Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. [7] Ossian, passim.

[8] Fingal, l. iv. and Ossian, passim. [9] Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est. Tac. Germ. l. ii.

[10] See the Poems of Tighmora, Fingal, Gaul, and the fall of Taura.

[11] Ammian. Marcell. l. v.

[12] Vid. Tit. Liv. Rom. Bel. for the Gauls; vit. Agric. c. 33, for the Caledonians; and Ossian, vol. i. p. 56.

[13] Ossian, vol. ii. p. 36 and 106.

donians [1] retired from the scene of engagement, at the hollow sound of the boss, listening to the song of peace, raised by the bards. [2]

It was a custom observed by the Fingalians, to carry in one hand a shield covered all over with blood, an emblem of deadly revenge. [3] The practice was anciently adhered to by the Celtic nations in Great Britain. They dipped their swords in the blood of the first animal they met with, when they went out to battle, and sprinkled it over their standards, and other warlike instruments, [4]—a ceremony which till lately was observed in the remote parts of the Western Islands. [5] Military standards, such as those which were spread on the wind of Lena, [6] were very common among the clans of Britain, in the sixth and seventh century. Not only was the king escorted with banners of this kind, when he went out to battle, but they were generally borne before him, when he was walking in the field. [7]

The car of Cuthullin, which is described so beautifully in these poems, instead of proving an objection to their authenticity, furnishes a very strong proof of their antiquity. [8] The ancient Scots, [9] Britons, [10] and Caledonians, [11] were possessed of chariots at a very early period. The covini, a kind of riding chariots, such as Cuthullin's is said to have been, were common, both in Caledonia, Scot-

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[1] Xiphilin ex Dione Nicæo in vit. Sever.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, p. 54; Ossian, vol. i. p. 118, 140, and Cæsar, p. 90.

[3] Ossian's Poems, vol. ii. p. 160.

[4] Occiso quid primum obviam occurrisset animali, sanguine ejus gladii—cuspidem unguentes, degustabant. A translation from Solinus.

[5] Martin's Descrip. p. 104. [6] Ossian's Poems, vol. i. p. 57.

[7] Bed. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 16. p. 83.

[8] Ossian, p. 231, edit. 1773. Fingal. [9] Joseph. Gorionides, l. vi. c. 37.

[10] Cicero Epist. ad Fam. l. iii. E. 6, 7, &c. Cæsar, p. 79, 80.

[11] Ibid. Cæsar, p. 79, 80.

land and Ireland, in the fifth century.[1] Its green covering was formed of haircloth, which was made of the tail of that noble and useful animal, the horse. Its beam, which was made of the yew-tree, "with full-grained ears, and "spreading boughs," was curved.[2] This agrees with the most ancient description of this kind of chariots, which had full-grained ears, and spreading boughs or arms of twigs, projecting outward on the axle of large wheels, from which were suspended the grappling hooks or scythes.[3] "The precious, highly polished bits, which shone in the "mouth of the steed,"[4] were made of the bones of those large marine animals that frequented the shore, and received a very high polish from the careful tool of the workman.[5] The British pearls, which decorated the mouth,[6] were at that early period famous in the commercial world,[7] and appear to have been used by the British nations in general[8] as ornaments to the reins, which were thongs made of the hides of animals.[9]

The manners and customs of the Fingalians, Scots and Caledonians, bore not a more striking resemblance, in the furniture of their horses, and the shape of their chariots, than in the texture and construction of their wattled curraughs. The barks of the Fingalians, with which they crossed the ocean, as "they furled the sails aloft,"[10] agree

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[1] Adamnanus, Vit. Columb. l. i. c. 99, l. ii. c. 43; Patricii Synod. Can. 9; Cogitosi Vit. Brigitiæ, ap. Messingham, c. 6, 7, 11.

[2] Cuthullin's Chariot, Ossian's Fingal.

[3] Mela, l. iii. c. 6; Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. 36.

[4] Fingal, an epic poem, edit. 1773, p. 231.

[5] Strabo, p. 307, et Solinus, c. 22. [6] Ossian, vol. i. p. 11.

[7] Plin. Hist. Nat. [8] Borlas's Coins, No. 12, 19, 20, 22, &c.

[9] The same as those used in shipping. Adamn. Vit. Columb.; Prob. Vit. Patricii, l. ii.

[10] The Poem of Fingal, p. 201, from ancient MSS.

with the description which is given of the Scottish shipping, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Instead of wooden vessels, they sailed in open boats, framed of wicker work, and covered with hides, [1] which had sails, consisting of the same materials. [2] The description of Ossian's ships was not only agreeable to the manner of building these vessels, in the third and fourth centuries; but the Fingalians also kept pace with the improvements of the ancient Scots, and other Celtic nations, in naval architecture. In Gaul, the slender twig had been laid aside before this time, for the hardy oak. Instead of the small canoe, they erected lofty strong built ships, which were rendered very solid and compact, by means of thick planks of oak. [3] Soon after this period, the wattled curraughs of Fingal's race seem to have been exchanged, for more commodious vessels: These were built of the same durable materials, [4] and Larthon was the first "who mounted the "wave on his own dark oak." [5] Considerable privileges were held out by the Romans to those conquered Britons of Celtic origin, who could build a vessel capable of containing ten thousand modia, or twelve English quarters of corn, [6] a cargo which the Fingalians had curraughs capable of containing. [7] This race of people steered their course in the trackless ocean, by means of the stars. Their respective situations were imprinted on the bosses of their shields, [8] an expedient which some of the most ancient nations who visited these shores had recourse to, under similar circumstances. [9]

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[1] Cæs. Plinius, Solinus, c. 22, and Adamn. Vit. Columb.
[2] Dio, p. 212. [3] Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. iii. c. 8, 9.
[4] Ossian, vol. ii. p. 120, 131. [5] Ibid.
[6] Cod. Theod. tom. v. l. 13. tit. v. [7] Ossian, vol. i. p. 39.
[8] Ossian's Poems, vol. ii. p. 128, 129.
[9] Phenices. Plinius, Nat. Hist. l. vii. c. 56, § 5, p. 127, fol.

Their modes of living correspond with those in Ossian; and the clannish notions of these early ages also bear testimony to the antiquity of these poems. The whole country, including North and South Britain, was divided into clanships. [1] They were all warriors, and marched to battle with their respective chieftains, who were inferior to the pendragon, or chief. [2] In the camp of Fingal, [3] there were twelve houses, which corresponded with the most ancient description of a Caledonian and British town. This city consisted of a large wood or space of ground, fenced round about with a wall or fossé. [4] There were twelve fires in each house, and "a man, and a hundred were "placed around each fire," [5]—a practice which resulted from the numerous clans or families, into which Caledonia, [6] South Britain, [7] and Ireland, were anciently divided. [8] The twelve chiefs of his council, sometimes mentioned in the poems of Ossian, [9] allude to an ancient custom. Every chief, or feudal baron, had twelve councillors, who sat and decided with him in every matter of dispute. This practice originated at a very early period in Scotland and Caledonia, since it is mentioned in the most ancient collection of Scottish laws; [10] but although the same custom be taken notice of in the Saxon laws of the

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[1] Cæs. p. 92, 31; Richard's Latin Itinerarium, p. 35; Ptolemy, Geog.; Tacit. Vit. Agric. and Annal.; Albanic Duan.

[2] Ossian, vol. i. p. 87, vol. ii. p. 194, the Fingalians; Tacitus, Annal.; Herodian, l. iii. c. 48; Cæs. p. 34, the Caledonians and Celtic nations.

[3] The Epic Poem of Fingal; see MS. of the H. Society of Scotland.

[4] Oppidum Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa muniverunt. Cæs. l. v.

[5] The poem of Fingal. Ibid. [6] Ptolem. Geog. Europ. Tab. i.

[7] Ib. and Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. v.

[8] Ptolemy, contained in the Palatin. MSS and Tacit. p. 233.

[9] Ceann adha' Chomhairlich fein an Cosg. The poem Cath Thinn, agus Mhanois. [10] Regiam Majest. l. i. c. 12, § 4.

eighth century,[1] it appears to have been much more ancient.

The common appellation of forests in early times, particularly in Flanders and Scotland, was Ardven.[2] This name was derived from the local peculiarities of the ground. With the heroes of Ossian, they were generally known by names of the same import, since Morven, "the great forest," was characterized for the quantity of wood which it contained. Al-cluith or Bal-clutha, "the "city on the Clyde," one of the few places of residence mentioned in these poems,[3] is identified by one of the most ancient British writers,[4] with Themoria or Temora, a town which was situated in the country of the Eblani, in the county of East Meath,[5] and was the capital of the Scottish nation in Ireland.[6]

Frequent allusions are to be met with in the poems of Ossian to the stone of power, "which heard the cry of the "the warrior," and the circle of Loda.[7] They appear probably to have been borrowed from some of those mystical rites of the Celtic nations, which were observed in the secret recess of a grove of oak, and are to be referred either to the Druids, who were thought to have belonged at first to the British isles,[8] or to some Scandinavian deity. The Druids were the ministers of religion, the judges of the land, the legislators of the nation, who framed laws for the people, and the arbiters of right and

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[1] LL. Ethelred, c. 4; Wilkin, Leges Sax. p. 100.

[2] Cæs. p. 84, 126; Tac. Annal. l. iii. c. 4.

[3] Ossian, vol. i. p. 30.

[4] Bed. l. i. c. 1, and Richard's Itinerarium, p. 31.

[5] Ossian, vol. ii. p. 21, 22.

[6] Themoria civitas, ubi etiam tunc regni Scotorum erat caput. Beda, Patricii vita.

Fingal, Duan iii. v. 36, et passim.

[8] Cæs. lib. vi. c. 13.

wrong, who settled every difference. Their temples in Caledonia were of a circular form, [1] such as the circle of Loda. But the stone of power, to which the warrior turned for assistance, was either a different description of a temple, or an object of religious worship and adoration. The temples of the Druids, as well as those of other nations, sometimes consisted of a single pillar, to which they carried the sacrifices, and offered up the victims; [2] in this case they must have also been objects of worship. Mercury, one of the Celtic or Druidical deities, [3] the protector of travellers and wayfaring men, [4] was worshipped under the semblance of an upright square stone. [5] By this was represented the eternal power and stability of the Deity. [6] These square obelisks, which seem to have been the most ancient representations of images, [7] were also dedicated to Bacchus among the Thebans, [8] to Venus in Achaia, [9] and other deities in Arabia and Scandinavia. Many of them have been found in various parts of Scotland, with emblematical sculpture, relating to the druidical and heathen notions of a Deity. It is most probable, that this was the stone of power, which was supposed to hear the cry of the warrior, as it seems to relate to some of those Scandinavian deities, which were worshipped in the same manner, under the emblem of a square stone.

The age to which the poems of Ossian have been referred, was the hunting and the pastoral age. The nation

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[1] Eratosthenes in Catasterismis, inter opuscula mythylogica et physica; edit. Amsterdam, p. 124.

[2] Clemen. Alex. Stromat.

[3] Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 17.

[4] Cæs. lib. vi.

[5] Phurnutus de Natur. Deorum, c. 16.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Themistius, Orat. xv.

[8] Clemen. Alex. Strom. lib. i.

[9] Pausanias.

was at that time supported by means of venison and herds of cattle,[1] articles which became a source of trade with the neighbouring tribes;[2] and this commerce reached to "the land of heroes," and the extreme boundaries of the north.[3] The ancient beverage of the Caledonians, and other British nations, was curmi.[4] This generous liquor of the shell, which was little inferior to wine, either in colour or flavour,[5] was known in Caledonia in the third century.[6] Although wine was not the general beverage in the time of Ossian, it was nevertheless known in the country at that early period.[7] The Romans originally introduced it into Gaul.[8] But as it was not heard of in Britain until the second or third century,[9] it must have been brought over to that country by some of the Gallic merchants who frequented the coast, or the Gallic colonies who came over from thence to Britain.

The wild boar, together with the wolf, which were pursued by the heroes of Ossian in the chase,[10] were inhabitants of the Caledonian forest[11] in the time of the Romans.[12] Hawks, which were so numerous with the Scots in the third century, that an hundred of them were proffered, in a treaty

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[1] Εκ τε νομης και θηρας ζωντες. Dio, p. 1280.

[2] Richard's Latin Itinerarium, p. 421.

[3] A denomination by which the country of Ossian was sometimes known. Ossian, vol. i. p. 116.

[4] Diodorus Siculus, p. 4, 41, 242, 248.

[5] Ossian, vol. i. p. 74 and 116; and Diodorus, ibid.

[6] Tacit. Vit. Agric. c. 12; and Scriptores Hist. August. p. 942.

[7] Ossian, vol. i. p. 16. [8] Diodorus, p. 350.

[9] Tacitus, Vit. Agric. c. 12.

[10] Ossian, Smith's edit. p. 149; and the Poems of Finan and Lorma.

[11] Scriptores Hist. August. p. 942.

[12] Aprum eximiæ formæ captum. An inscription.

of peace which Ossian was concluding with the enemy, [1] seem to have been originally British birds. With the Romans, indeed, they were scarcely known at all in the time of Vespasian. [2] The diversion of hawking was once confined to Thrace and Britain. [3] It must have been introduced at Rome by some of the inhabitants of the latter country, or the Roman colonists of Britain, since it was usual with that people soon after the time of Vespasian. [4] The hawk himself was the hunter; and being tamed like the other domesticated animals, and trained up to that art, for which nature fitted him so well, he pounced upon his prey, and laid it at the feet of his master. The Emperor of Rome was, in these poems, called king of the world. In order to be revenged on him, death was threatened "upon the Britons of victorious arms," who acknowledged his despotic sway. Allusions to the ancient manners and customs of this country are indeed so numerous, from the first to the fifth century, that no doubt can remain as to the period when these poems were written; and they not only furnish specimens of the highest description of poetry, but are also valuable for the ancient manners which they describe.

Ossian was the son of Fingal, of the family of Baoiscene. [5] Like all other poets, he was of a contemplative nature, and frequently retired to the solitary desert, to indulge his melancholy thoughts. On one occasion he was absent a whole year; and upon the information of a boar-hunter, Fingal repaired to the desert, where he found him flaying a boar. He sent a messenger to him, and Ossian instantly prepared for an armed resistance. It was then that Fingal said, it was hazardous for the lad to engage

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[1] Ossian, vol. i. p. 115. [2] Plin. lib. x. c. 8. [3] Ibid.
[4] Oppian Cynegetic, lib. i.; Martial, lib. xix.; E. 216. [5] Baschairill.

with the gray-haired hero, upon which he sung "Canuadh ladh ei a scciadh con con."[1] Ossian lived in a rugged country, in the midst of the warriors' tombs; among crags and mountains overhung with perpetual mists; barren heaths, which seemed blasted by the elements; abrupt precipices; scattered oaks; precipitate waterfalls, tumbling through the gloomy vale; and extensive forests, interspersed with mountain scenery; and from these awful objects, he gathered his most sublime similes. He is the poet of nature, and discovers beauties, although of the awful kind, in some of her most louring scenes. His was the poetry of the heart,—a heart which was stored with every noble sentiment and tender passion; and although his poems abound with similes of the most sublime and tender description, he is perhaps the only one who never descends to livelier, less joyous, or less beautiful strains. His descriptions are not only in the highest degree tender and grand, but his sentiments are also sublime; and it is this combination which gives Ossian a superiority, in this particular, over most other poets. His observations on men and manners are in general natural and ingenious; and he delineates the different traits of their character with the hand of a master. The groundwork of his poems, for the most part, is skilfully laid. The hero of the tale, although his character is generally better sustained throughout the whole poem, than that of the cruel Hector, who triumphs over his fallen enemy, that of Æneas, which is somewhat insipid, or any other hero of antiquity, appears to greater advantage, from the indirect manner in which his merits are disclosed. Instead of a delineation

[1] The manuscript written in the time of Pupin Murchus, or the eighth century, vo. A. No. 1.

of good qualities, such as we find in other ancient poets, his heroism appears in real action, and speaks for itself. [1] Although Ossian lived in a more barbarous age than that of Homer, and a period never to be compared with the Augustan age of Virgil, [2] there is nevertheless a delicacy, a generosity, a forbearance in his characters, the effect of true heroism, which we never meet with in those of Homer, or even in Virgil. The heroes of Homer upbraid one another, with the language of the vilest wretch; [3] but Ossian never puts in the mouth of his heroes such degrading language, for they shew themselves rather in the field of danger. [4] The model of prudence and valour exhibited by Homer, a being who was ever loquacious, and sometimes given to complaint, [5] does not equal the moderate and wise hero of Ossian. [6] Although he never fled from scenes of danger, but sacrificed private interest to public duty, and the safety of his country, [7] he was still the constant advocate and friend of peace.

The poetry of Ossian assumes that melancholy cast, which the objects around him were calculated to inspire. It adds a dignity and a pathos to his descriptions, which are seldom equalled, and never surpassed, by the first epic poems of antiquity. In tenderness of sentiment, he sometimes comes up with the more polished swain of Mantua; and if we compare his works in general, with the produc-

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[1] See the epic poem of Fingal.

[2] Compare Æneas with Fingal and Cuchullin.

[3] Idomeneus insults the generous Atrides. Homer, lib. 131.

[4] Fingal, book i. line 49. Compare Conal, Fingal, book i. line 121. with Agamemnon, Homer, book vii. who said to Menelaus, that Hector and even Achilles was braver than him. Compare also the character of Menelaus, Hector and Achilles with Fingal. [5] Nestor. [6] Connal. Fingal, book i. line 145.

tions of that distinguished bard, it is even doubtful, whether in this particular he does not surpass him. In tragical narration, no poet, according to an eminent Italian critic, is to be compared with Ossian.[1] He moves the soul, and awakens the deepest sympathies of nature; and by a stroke of his art they again subside into a calm of sorrow and sadness. In no part of his poems does his art appear to greater advantage, than in his description of a ghost. This aërial being is usually painted in more lively colours than that of Homer, and described in such a solemn and awful manner, upon its first appearance, as to awaken feelings of the most terrific kind. The tenderest passions of the heart are managed with a delicacy and effect, which seem peculiar to this Scottish poet of antiquity; and by the union of the sublime and pathetic, he frequently leaves a deep impression on the mind. But although the poems of Ossian are indeed masterpieces, in respect of what we would call the requisites of true poetry, there is a melancholy tinge of too deep and lasting a kind, that pervades the whole, which we consider to be a blemish rather than an ornament. Nature looks sometimes sad; but at other times she presents scenes which awaken feelings of the most lively and pleasing kind; and a poet, in order to attain the highest perfection in poetical composition, must copy after her in every feature. The tender passion of love, by which the human species are linked together, is treated by Ossian with a delicacy and grace suitable to the occasion. His was not the turbulent passion, which gives birth to feelings of the grosser kind; nor like that of Greece and Rome, the offspring of fate and direful necessity.[2] As his love was founded on sentiment, and treated with a simplicity, an innocence, and purity, without any

[1] Casarotti. [2] Ibid.

affectation of modesty, agreeable, besides, to the early age in which he lived, it was of the most delicate and tender nature.

Ossian falls short of Homer in the variety of his bold metaphors, the abundance and accuracy of his descriptions, his diversity of character, and his compass of ideas, —circumstances which were the result of the more advanced state of society in which Homer lived. But he sometimes even excels him in sublimity of conception, vigour of imagination, and in solemn grandeur and majesty of thought.[1] Ossian indeed was nature's own child, and disputes the palm of excellence with the two first poets of Greece and Rome. Like all ancient bards, he abounds in narrative and comparison,[2] a species of poetical beauty which belongs to a remote age. He exhibits such a variety of living objects to the view at once, and awakens so many agreeable sensations,[3] that this excellency is in a manner the creature of his own taste. Some of these are so beautiful and appropriate,[4] that it is in vain that they are looked for, in any other ancient poet, even in a more civilized age, than that in which Ossian flourished. His delineations are measured with a conciseness and proportion, the result of his good taste, which yields the highest poetic beauty. The works of all distinguished poets abound with episodes and comparison; and, in like manner, do the rhapsodies of Homer. But neither of these poets make such a general and delicate selection as Ossian; for in the former, sentiments, which are of rare occurrence, are but faintly drawn. Ossian selected his images from the barren, uncultivated and mountainous

[1] See the examples given by Dr Blair in his remarks, and those of Casarotti.

[2] Fingal, lib. i, line 23, 24, Temora; and Casarotti, the Italian critic, whose testimony to the poetical talent of Ossian, as an impartial foreigner, is of some consequence.

[3] Fingal, lib. i, line 35, and t. 3, 74.

[4] Fingal, lib. i, line 219, Gaul.

country; mists that creep by the hill side; the tempests which frequently arise in northern climes; the pale beams of the moon and the stars of night; the ghosts of our forefathers; the waters which fall over the precipice or crag; the pine on the mountain top; the long grass which whistles in the wind, and the wild animals that start at the sound of the hunter. The subjects of his poems were the fierce and the warlike, but generous barbarian, who lived in deadly strife, and enjoyed none of the luxuries, and even few of the conveniences of life. But with these rude materials he has produced a finished poem, without the aid of religion or mythology, which is peculiar for its eastern and scriptural simplicity of language, and has never been surpassed by the works of the most distinguished poets of ancient or modern times.[1] Homer is characterized for force and sublimity, Virgil for tenderness and beauty; but Ossian, the Scottish bard, unites in one these two qualities, and is distinguished both for tenderness and sublimity.

The poems which pass under the name of Ossian, though his pieces hold the first rank exclusively, do not all seem the work of his hand. Even he himself ascribes to Ullin and Orran many episodes. Of this description is the poem of Dargo,[2] or Dar an Deirg, which proceeds for the most part from the mouth of Ullin, and seems doubtless to have been of his composition. The transactions therein described are indeed more suitable to his time than the era of Ossian, who, if he existed at that period, must have been very young. The poem entitled, "Bas Airtic Ardain er Tuire an Aosdu," "The Death "of Arthur," appears to be the work of some ancient or

[1] See Dr Blair's Critique, and the Observations of Abbé Melchior Casarotti, a celebrated Italian. [2] Translated by Mr Smith.

unknown bard. It differs from all the other poems ascribed to Ossian; and takes notice of no other bard but Ardar, who was probably the author of the piece. Orran is denominated a bard in Cathlava, [1] which he probably wrote. In all these poems of Ossian, Ullin, Ardar and Orran, frequent mention is made of the aged Seanar, a Druid living in his groves of oak, after whom the poem of Cathlare was denominated "The song of the gray man." [2] Unity, which is the chief characteristic in an epic poem, [3] combined with heroic dignity, was uniformly preserved by Ossian and these other bards; for theirs was a unity of enterprise, and unity both of time and place. Their poetry, which is frequently dramatic, never descends to the mean and grovelling, but is distinguished both for conciseness and sublimity.

Some of the poems of Ossian consist of heroic verse, such as Fingal and Temora. Others are war songs, [4] for inflaming the fury of the combatants, [5] and rousing their courage, [6] elegiac poems, [7] triumphal, [8] dying, [9] love, [10] and festal songs. [11]

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[1] Smith's Gaelic Antiquities and Poems, p. 332.

[2] Dargo sent to the green isle, where his fathers rest, "supposed to be "Hyona," anciently denominated "Innis Druinach," The isle of the Druids. Dunan flior leidh was the name of the poem. Smith's Translation of Ossian, p. 295. "Be thine the rod or the Slatan Druiach," the Druid's rod, or magic wand, to which a number of virtues were ascribed. These allusions to Druids and druidical customs could not have been made by a poet who lived in any other age than that of the Druids.

[3] Aristotle.

[4] Ossian's Poems, vol. i. p. 66.

[5] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 163.

[6] Ibid. vol. i. p. 56.

[7] Ossian, vol. i. p. 70.

[8] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 17.

[9] Ibid. vol. i. p. 9.

[10] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 67, 68.

[11] In various poems.

CHAP. V.

Poetry.—Sedulius. — His paschal works. — The Tain Bho of Cuailgne, most probably Scottish.—Hymns.—Hymns of Shaghlin.—Columbanus.—His poems.—Ancient language.—Figurative.—Laws and philosophy delivered in verse.—A poem on the conversion of the Dumblinians.—The sacred muse.—Merlinus Sylvestris.—The poem of Emanuel.—The wise men and Alexander the Great.—Imitations of Ossian.—Sacred poems.—The Hymns of Columba.—Colmain.—The art of versification.—Different kinds of verse.—The decline of poetry.—Icelandic poets. —Common song. — Adonian. — Literary and syllabical harmony.

Few, indeed, are the productions, or even names, of other distinguished bards which have reached us, considering the flourishing state of the order in early times. Sedulius, who lived in the middle of the fifth century, acquired considerable fame by his poetical talents. He had his education under Hildebert, a Scotchman;[1] and though the silence of contemporary writers has been adduced as a proof, that he belonged not to Scotland, yet a number of learned men, who had an opportunity of seeing the most ancient manuscripts and records in Europe, have never expressed a doubt that he was a Scotchman.[2] It was in Achaia, after passing from Italy into that country, that

[1] Trithemius de Script. Eccl.

[2] John Balæus, Magdibur. Centuriat. Thom. Dempsterius, Baronius, Bellarminus, Sextus Senensis, Antonius Popovin, &c. Vide Dempst. H. Eccl.

he composed his paschal work, during the reigns of the emperor Theodosius II. and Valentinian the Third. This poem is divided into five books. The first begins at the creation of the world, and touches upon the most remarkable histories of the Old Testament; and the other four contain some of the most distinguished features in the history of Jesus Christ. These poems, which were collected and published by Turcius Rufus Austerius, who was joint consul with Præsidius or Protogenes in 494, though they are marked by some inelegances, are nevertheless commended by many Christian writers, as a piece of noble and harmonious poetry. [1] Liberius and Bellasarius, two Christian poets of the same age, have left us some acrostic verses, in commendation of his poetical talents. [2]

The Scots, like all other barbarous nations, are characterized at an early period for their love of plunder. [3] They delighted in carrying off the spoils of their enemies, which they took in battle; [4] and these acts of plunder formed the subjects of some of the first poetical productions of the nation. The "Tain Bho" is said to have been the most ancient production in any vernacular tongue in Europe. Sheanachan, and the three chief bards, together with the other laureats of their retinue, were requested to sing the history of the Tain Bho, or cattle spoil of Cuailgne, upon leaving the court of Guaire [5] for Scotland. But being ignorant of this song, they went in quest of the history through Ireland and Scotland, but without suc-

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[1] Vid. Du Pin's Hist. Eccl. vol. iv.; St. Alavus Barochiis Disser. 2. de Poet. Lat.; Mr Mackenzie's Lives; and Dempst. Scot. Gent.

[2] De Liberii Poetæ; de Seduliæ Achrostichis; Bellasarii Poetæ, de Seduliæ Achrostichis.

[3] Gildas, c. 12, 19.

[4] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xx. xxvii.

[5] An Irish Prince.

cess.[1] Ennin and Muircheartach set out at length for the stone of Fergus, son of Roich, who was buried on the plains of Nai; and his spirit being invoked, he made his appearance at the end of three days, in his clouds of mist, and recited the Tain Bho of Cuailgne, the cattle spoil.[2] This tale, which consists of twelve reimsgeala, or portions, and is a wild native piece of poetry, was composed when Diarmad, the son of Cervail, reigned over Ireland.[3]

It is very doubtful, however, whether this poem belongs to Scotland or Ireland, although the latter country has laid claim to it.[4] Fergus, the son of Roich, or Rioch, to whom it is ascribed in that fabulous account of the ghost, was in all probability the same as Fergus, the son or descendant of Riadh, which is pronounced, in Gaelic, Riach. He lived twenty or thirty years before it was composed,[5] in the time of Diarmad, who reigned in Ireland about the middle of the sixth century. It was originally composed at the suggestion of the men of Connacht, when Shenachan Forbda, with three eminent bards, were on a visit at the Court of Guire in Ireland.[6] When these hymnists had travelled first through Ireland, and then to Scotland in quest of it,[7] they are not said to have returned to Erin, but went directly to the grave of Fergus. This poem was

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[1] Cuirsint na Filidh mor cuairt Ereann agus Alpan dia fochmuire agus nis bui leon. Vid. Report of the Highland Society on Ossian.

[2] Ceathardha Connagur in Cach, ealathuin is Cuineda don Asairsisi na Tana Lac di Cedumus lighe Fercusa mhic Roich ait in Rou hathrachd four mach Nai. See Appen. to Report, p. 292.

[3] Tempus Umorro Dicormuto in hic Cernailt in regno Iberniæ. See the MSS. in possession of the Highland Society of Scotland.

[4] Rod. O'Flaherty, Ogyg. p. 275. [5] Vid. supra.

[6] A tu caid scriuint dia ndeachai Seanchan Foirhda, Cona III. vi eccees—de saighe cuaire rig condacht. See the MSS. itself.

[7] Cuairt Ereann agus Alpan. MSS.

found in the Highlands of Scotland, in a manuscript of an earlier date than the end of the eighth century, and not in Ireland; and although the Irish antiquaries appear to have been aware of the existence of such a piece as the Tain Bho, the most intelligent and learned of them seem never to have seen it. [1]

The peculiar province of one order of the druidical priests, was to compose sacred hymns, which they sung at their sacrifices, and other religious solemnities. [2] It was probably in imitation of this part of the pagan superstition, which enjoined hymns to be made in praise of earthly deities, that St Secundine, commonly known by the name of Schaghlin, a nephew of St Patrick by his sister Darerca, [3] composed a hymn on this saint in 448, the same year in which he died. [4] He fell a victim to disease at Dunshaglin, a village in the diocese of Meath, and was buried in a church which he himself had built. [5] Few were the productions of this barren age, and inconsiderable their merits. That is not the period for poetical talent to display itself, when the national religion is about to be changed, and the state convulsed by the revolutions of contending parties.

The early Scottish missionaries, although they subverted the druidical superstition, and planted in its stead the Christian religion, were by no means hostile to human learning or the fine arts; but, on the contrary, some of them were the nursing fathers of poetry and music. Co-

[1] Rodr. O'Flaherty in Ogygia, p. 238 and 275.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. s. 47, p. 158.

[3] Jocelin, Vit. St. Patricii, c. 176, 177.

[4] This hymn, which begins thus, "All ye that love God, hear the praises "of that blessed man in Christ, holy Patrick," is mentioned by Jocelin, and was first published by Sir James Ware, along with St Patrick's works, at London 1656.

[5] Jocelin, Vit. Patricii, ibid.

lumbanus was the next Scottish poet, who adorns the annals of his country; and amidst an active life spent in pursuits of a more important nature, he dedicated some portion of his time to the enlivening strains of the muses. In his own writings, he is sometimes denominated a Briton, and at other times a Scotchman.[1] But whether he belonged to Saxony or Caledonia, he had his education in the monastery of Hy or Iona.[2] Columbanus the poet, and St Columba the apostle of the Picts, the founder of this monastery, are two different persons. It is said, that when Columba was in the island of Hy or Iona, the death of his friend Columbanus, bishop of Laghlin, was announced to him.[3] The first part of his poem is addressed to Hunaldus, on the shortness of human life, and the vanity of worldly riches.[4] The second, in the form of a letter, to Sedulius: and the last is a poem, in hexameters, entitled, Monasticum, which contains several precepts of morality.[5] Columbanus is said to have been a poet of some parts, although he was by no means possessed of a fertile imagination. He lived to an advanced age, and died in the beginning of the seventh century.[6]

It may be matter of wonder to some, how the warlike expeditions of the ancient Scots were not the theme of

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[1] Vid. Laurentius's Letter to the Scottish Church.

[2] Leslie, de Gest. Scot. p. 144. [3] Adamnanus, Vit. St. Columb.

[4] He begins this poem with the letters of the term Columbanus, to whom he wrote in such a manner, that the first letter of each verse, when joined together, composed the words Columbanus Hunaldo.

[5] Sigebert of Gembcours. Poemata et epistolæ aliquot, quæ aut apud Canis. Antiq. Lection. tom. iv.; aut apud Sirmond. aut Usserium.

[6] It appears from his letter to Sedulius, that he had reached the eighteenth Olympiad, that is, at least, to the seventy-second year of his age, A. D. 615.

Hæc tibi dictarum morbus oppressus acerbus,
Corpore quos fragili patior, tristique senecta,
Num dum præcipit; labuntur tempora cursu,
Nunc ad Olympiadis ter senos venimus annos.

these poets' songs, since these are the subjects, which, for the most part, attract the attention of the ancient bard. Before the invention, or the use of letters, language, on all important occasions, was highly poetical, and adorned with such rhetorical figures, as a modern writer would scarcely venture to use. Every thing, indeed, that was intended to be generally known, or long remembered, was expressed in some kind of verse or numbers.[1] Speculative principles, and moral precepts, constituted a part of that poetical system of learning, which the Druids taught their disciples.[2] They couched the different parts of natural philosophy, astronomy and mathematics, in the flowing numbers of verse; the laws of their country;[3] the properties of bodies; the extent of the world; and the form, magnitude and nature of the heavenly bodies.[4] These, and other subjects, relating to religion and learning, were so numerous, that no less than twenty years, the period in which a Druid completed his education, were spent in committing them to memory.[5] Is it matter of astonishment, then, that the first Christian teachers should make use of the vehicle of poetry, for transmitting to posterity subjects of such vast importance, as those relating to the Christian religion, at a time, too, when letters had not yet found their way into common use among the ancient Scots?

The conversion of the heathen now claimed the attention of the Scottish muse; and from warlike episodes, the poets proceeded to sing the praises of the Christian hero, who subdued the stubborn enemies of his own heart. St Benigne, one of those who either accompanied or went

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[1] Peloutier, Histoire des Celtes, lib. i. p. 368, 384; et Isidore, Orig. lib. i. c. 27.
[2] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 14.
[3] Ælian, Var. Hist. lib. ii. c. 39.
[4] Mela, lib. iii. c. 2.
[5] Strabo, lib. i. p. 18; et Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 2.

over after St Patrick, a Scotchman, [1] into Ireland, wrote a poem in Irish verse on the conversion of the Dublinians to Christianity, which is still extant. [2] The Gospel formed frequently the subject of the Scottish bards. They had hitherto been employed principally in celebrating the exploits of the warrior. The druidical religion had, however been abolished; the bards, the poetical attendants of the army, dismissed; and now that the Christian religion had already dawned in Scotland, the attention of the learned was directed from the degrading superstition of the heathen, to the hidden mysteries of the Gospel, which became the burden of the poet's song. The Scottish churchmen themselves took up this theme of praise, in order to interest the feelings of the people in those great truths, which were to lead to the knowledge of salvation; and among other productions of the sacred muse, one little poem at this time merits our attention, which was entitled, "A Paraphrase of a Young Presbyter on the Gospel." [3]

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[1] In Scotia nativitas St. Patricii, qui in Hibernia insula Scotiis primum evangilavit. Notk. Balbutus, in Martyr. apud Demp. H. Eccl. lib. xv. 56. See Mackenzie's Lives.

[2] Guliel. Malm. in lib de Glast. Eccl. Antiq. apud Uss.; de Eccl. Brit. p. 555. William of Malmesbury is of opinion, that he died in England in 468; but by the Annals of Innisfallis, he is said to have died at Rome; and a Latin epitaph was found in Great Britain inscribed upon his tomb.

Hoc patriæ in lapide (tumulo Beonæ) benigno sunt ipsa locuta:
Qui patris extiterat Monachorum hic tempore prisco,
Hunc forte Patricii dudum, fortasse ministrum,
Fantur Hybernigenæ et Beonem de nomine dicunt.
Vid. Jac. Waræus de Script. Hibern. lib. i. p. 15.

[3] There is a piece written in the Scottish language by one St Ninian, which is published with notes; but whether this bard was the same as the apostle of the Picts and Scots is indeed uncertain. See the collection of manuscripts made in the reign of Charles I, and to be seen in the libraries of Hengurt, in the county of Meirionydh, and in that of Sir W. Williams of Lhanvorda, Shropshire. Lhuyde Archæologia, tit. vi.; Cornish Gram. p. 225; Menci Presbyteri Paraphrasis in Evangelia. The manuscript in which this and others are contained is written in the Scottish language. Arch. tit. vi.; Corn. Gram. p. 226.

Myrdhyn, the son of Morvrinus, who was commonly known by the name of Merlinus Sylvestries, was a Caledonian, and lived about 570.[1] This bard, who led a solitary life, wrote a poem[2] on the invasion of the enemy. He lived in the Caledonian forest a solitary being, although he had a sister Guenieda, who was married to Rederch, the King of Cambria, and famed for her beauty;[3] and this circumstance seems to have given rise to his name, "Merlin the wild." This recluse, who carefully avoided the haunts of men, was, in these days of ignorance and superstition, accounted a prophet. Upon one occasion, when he accompanied Feridurus, general of the Venedati, to a war which was at that time carrying on between the Scots and the Stratclyde Britons, Rederch, the bountiful king of Cumbria, ordered vestments, hawks and dogs, swift hunters, gold and precious stones, to be brought from his hall, each of which he himself made offer of, one by one, to the prophet or bard, together with a cup which was carved by Guielandus, in the town of Sigenius.[4]

This poem is supposed to be a Cumbrian production, from the word Cannus, there rendered Ceinchliach, or Caledonian; but there is, at all events, no doubt that it was carried, along with many other books from the North, about 883, to Wales; Crad. Lan. in Vit. Honorati, (sive Anarant, p. 36; Ed. Wynianæ Guydheleg;) from whence it was afterwards transported to Cambridge, as appears from the modern written words *price* therein mentioned. Lhuyde, tit. vi. p. 226.

[1] Caledonius audit, Po. ann. 570.

[2] Of 52 pages; Cotton, lib.; Vesp. E. iv. Avalhen veren beravi haeron.

[3] Apud Geofred Monmeta. See that work, and these words of Lhuyde, "Non immerito appellatur, cum Caledoniæ silvas in quibus habitabat, ipse his "verbis commemoret in pomario, seu carmine intitulus, Malhene." Lhuyde, Archæol. tit. vii.; MSS. Brit. p. 263.

[4] Dux Venedatorum Feridurus bella gerebat;—
Contra Guenualorum, Scotiæ qui regna gerebat:

Several poems were written between the fifth and the eighth century by the native bards in the Gaelic language, some fragments of which have reached our own times. [1] Among these was one, entitled Emanuel, which appears partly to relate to a poetical dialogue, carried on between Curio and an African. In this poem the bard introduces the beautiful story of Anteus, the son of Terra, found in Lucan, [2] which he has embellished with Scottish imagery; [3] a proof that classical learning was not altogether neglected at this time by our ancient bards. When learning began to be cultivated with more success in Scotland, and classical works attracted the attention of the native youth, the Scottish muse seems not unfrequently to have delighted in themes of a foreign nature. In one of those poems, several editions of which have been found, four wise men are represented as conversing at the grave of Alexander the Great, the day after his body was commit-

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Venerat ad bellum Merlinus cum Feriduro,
Rex quoque Cumbrorum Rodarcus.—
Ecce victori venit, obvius al e: ab aula
Rodarchi regis Cumbrorum, qui Gueniedam
Duxerat uxorem, formosa conjuge felix;
Merlini soror ista fuit.
Afferique jubet vestes, volucresque, canesque,
Quadrupedosque citos, aurum gemmasque micantes;
Pocula quæ sculpsit Guielandus in urbe Sigeni,
Singula pretendit vati Rodarchus, et offert.
Ganfridus demonum, &c. Vit. Merl.

[1] Contained in a MS. bearing the characters of the eighth century, Mr Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, p. 123, plate 22; although from the work or manuscript itself, it appears to have been written between the time of Orosius and Bede.

[2] Lucan, Pharsalia, lib. vi. v. 587-609.

[3] See the MS. in the possession of the Highland Society.

ted to the earth.[1] But, among all the Scottish poets, Ossian seems, at this period, to have been esteemed the first. Several imitations of his tender lays were attempted, after the time of that poet, by Allan MacRorie; one on the death of Diarmad, and another on the fall of Oscar;[2] and although these are far inferior to the poetry of the ancient Scottish bard, they are nevertheless works of some little merit. Among these pieces, which were written at an early period, was Urnigh Ossian, or Ossian's Prayer, which appears to be an imitation of that ancient poet.[3]

The Mosaical writings appear not unfrequently to have attracted the attention of the ancient Scottish muse; and in a parchment written in the ancient Gaelic, or ornamented letters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, there is a poem known by the name of Peanaid Adhaim, "The Pu-"nishment of Adam." St Columba, who had his education under Finian,[4] and who was the great apostle of the Picts and Scots, was the next author who distinguished himself for his poetical talents. He wrote four hymns, among which was one in praise of Kierain[5]; but neither since the time of Allan MacRorie, nor after the death of St Columba, till the middle of the eighth century, do we meet with any other poet belonging to the Scottish nation. The internal disturbances, and warlike expeditions about the accession of Fergus to the throne, together with the abolition of the druidical superstition, and the partial

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[1] The Dean of Lismore's MS. in possession of the Highland Society of Scotland.

[2] These are taken from an ancient MS. which was copied from an obituary of the eleventh century. See the MSS. of the Dean of Lismore, written A. Domillesim quinmo duodecimo.

[3] Vid. Report of the Highland Society of Scotland, App. plate 1, fig. 4; plate 3, No. 2.

[4] Adamnan. Vit. St. Columb. lib. i. and ii.

[5] See Jac. Waræus de Script. Hibern. lib. i. p. 15.

establishment of Christianity, were circumstances not very favourable for cherishing a poetical genius.

Learning of all kinds had by this time made considerable progress in Scotland; and although the poetic muse is not to be courted by dint of application, she may be chastened and cultivated. Roman was the son of Colmain, or Colman, probably the Scottish missionary, who had his education at Hyona, and went over to convert the Northumbrians. [1] He was the best poet in the nation to which he belonged, and the most distinguished in the age in which he lived. [2] But whatever were the subjects on which he displayed his talents, none of his poetical works, so far as is known, are now extant. Some of the bards of this age, along with high poetical genius, have also displayed profound learning, and an eminent knowledge of the sciences. Rabanus Maurus, who belonged to Scotland, and flourished in the end of the eighth, or the beginning of the ninth century, [3] is by some denominated a Briton. [4] He wrote poems upon several subjects, which were published, with notes, by Christopher Browerus, [5] together with some other miscellaneous pieces, which we find in Buluzius. [6] The poetical works of this

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[1] Bed. lib. iii. c. 26.

[2] Ruman MacColmain, poeta optimus quievit, 746; Ulster Annal.

[3] Dempst. Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. lib. xvii. p. 557; Camer. de Scot. Fort. Doct. et Piet. That he belonged to Scotland, appears from Josius Simlerus, Biblioth. Tigur. App. Christ. Troscuverium, fol. 1355; Conradus Gesnerus, Bibl. Universal. Tigur. 1554, in fol.; Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus de Vitis Græcorum et Latinorum Poetarum. Basil, 1580, fol. Robert Gaguin Rerum Gallicarum Annales. Francof. ad Men. 1557. In Carolo Magno; Arnold Wion, Lignum Vitæ. Venetiis, in 4to, duobus tomis, apud Georgium Migelerium, A. D. 1595, 4to.

[4] Camerarius de Scot. Fort. Doct. et Piet. p. 74.

[5] Edit. Mogunt. 1617, 4to. [6] Baluzius, tom. vi. Vid. Note U, App.

writer were admired in the eighth century, but they were not of such intrinsic merit as to attract the notice of succeeding ages. His book in praise of the holy cross is indeed recommended as a curious piece of art; but his enthusiasm for poetry was not of that wild and engaging kind, which secures permanent applause. Some other poetical works[1] have been attributed to him; but these are said to have been written in such a rude and barbarous style, that they neither agree with the general tenor of Rabanus Maurus' other works, nor with the taste of that age.[2] Rabanus Maurus is deservedly placed at the head of the Latin writers of his day. His extent of knowledge, the number of his productions, and his force of genius, entitle him to this place;[3] and surely those poems, published by Nicolas Serarius, which do not even rank with the ordinary productions of the age,[4] can never be justly ascribed to him. He excelled in all the learning of the times, in expounding the principles of art and the rules of grammar and rhetoric; in explaining the mystical reasons of all religious ceremonies; in illustrating the Holy Scriptures; and particularly in turning prose into verse.[5] He was indeed "the most learned of his time, "both for profane and sacred literature, an eloquent ora-

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[1] Published by Nicolas Serarius.

[2] Versus deinde ipsi neque seculum illud nec stylum omnino Rabani sapiunt. Demp. Eccl. Gent. Hist. Scot. lib. xvi. p. 532. The title of his epitaph, which is to be found in those poems, shews that they were composed by some ignorant monk, Epicedium Rabani Mauri in vitam suam; and it has been observed by a learned writer, M. du Pin, Nov. Bib. Eccl. tom. vii. p. 166, that these poems are everywhere full of barbarous terms, and are neither written with elegance nor politeness.

[3] Vid. Mackenzie's Scot. Lives.

[4] Demp. Hist. Eccles. Scot. Gent. lib. xvii. p. 552.

[5] M. du Pin, Nov. Bib. Eccl. tom. vii. p. 166, and Mackenzie's Lives.

" tor, a famous astronomer and chronologist, a learned " philosopher, no despicable poet, well skilled in the He- " brew, Greek and Latin languages," and, in a word, the greatest ornament of the church in that age. [1]

The art of versification was at an early period attended to in Scotland. Such progress, indeed, had one of the pupils of a learned Scot [2] made in this study, that he was master of the rules of a hundred different kinds of verses, with the musical modulations of words and syllables. Under these was included the art of metre, letters, syllables, poetic feet, figures, verses, tones, and time. [3] The Scots were distinguished for a poetical genius before they were brought into a state of civilization. But when they became more refined in their manners and their modes of living, poetry, as if inconsistent with this state, began to decline. That seems the most favourable period for the Muses, when the mind is yet unshackled by the rules of criticism, and the refinements of art. But although the productions of the Scottish muse wanted that poetic fire and imagery, which is the chief excellence of poetry, this people had made great progress in the art of versification. The variety of the Saxon, Danish and Scottish versification, which at this period seems to have been the same in these nations, [4] compared with the limited number of modern Europe, is a striking circumstance in the annals of literature. Among the Saxon, Danish, and Icelandic poets, the different numbers of versification amounted at least to one hundred and thirty-six, not including the common metre verse. The usual sort of verse that they adopted, in singing the praises of

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[1] Johan. Trithemius, Catal. Illust. Vir. p. 125.

[2] Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 2 and 3. [3] Ibid. 6 and 7.

[4] Northern Antiq. vol. ii. p. 196.

their kings and heroes, was the drotquæt, or common song. This was made up of six syllables, each distich of two lines, and each stanza of four couplets. The literary harmony, as an eminent historian has observed, [1] consisted in this, that two words in the first line of the distich, and one in the second, should begin with the same letters. The syllabical, that there were two syllables of similar sounds in each line, that were sonorous, which were either composed of consonants, or of vowels and consonants. [2] It appears from that sort of verse called Adonian, in which they most indulged, which consisted of one long, two short, and two long syllables, that, like the Greek and Latin poets, who delighted in these kind of syllables, they could multiply their modes of versification at pleasure. But they never adhered strictly to the rules of this measure. [3] The harmony of these different kinds of verses did not altogether consist in ending the succession of long and short syllables equally, nor in the similar sounds of the terminating syllables, as in modern times. It consisted in a certain consonancy, and repetition of the same letters, syllables and sounds, in different parts of the stanza, which produced the most musical tones, and affected the hearers with exquisite delight. [4] Poetry itself was classed under seven different divisions; each of these had its variations, and every kind of verse consisted of a certain number of feet. [5]

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[1] Dr Henry, Hist. Brit.

[2] ChrIsTus Caput nOŚTrum — CorONet te bONis. Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, in Appendix. The sonorous letters and syllables are in capitals.

[3] Wanleii Catalog. in Præfat. sub fin. See Hickesii Thesaur. tom. i. p. 189, for an account of these kinds of verses.

[4] Olai Wormii Literatura Danica, p. 171, 192.

[5] Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 6.

BOOK III.—CHAP. I.

Druids in Caledonia.—Their knowledge of arts and sciences.—Physiology.—Nature of the Deity.—Astronomy.—Astrology.—The rise of religion.—Computation of time.—Their idea of a Sabbath.—Signs of the Zodiac.—Origin of superstition.—Geometry.—Arithmetic.—Mechanics.—Druidical physicians.—Materia Medica.—Mistletoe.—Vegetable ointments.—Eloquence.—Writing.—Gaelic letters.—Schools of learning.

In treating of the learning of the ancient Scots, it will be necessary to shew the progress which it had made before their conversion to the Christian religion. The Druids were an order of men possessing great authority in the remote ages of antiquity; and among these only can we expect to find the little learning which was cultivated by the western nations, before the more genial times of Christianity. That this class of men existed among the ancient Scots, we have several reasons for believing. It has indeed been remarked by a modern writer,[1] that those who speak of Druidism in Caledonia are mere visionaries; but he contradicts himself.[2] Cæsar, in describing the manners and customs of the Gauls,[3] says, "that in all Gaul there were only two orders of men, the "Druids and Nobles, the common people being slaves; and

[1] Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 18.
[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 104.
[3] Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 13.

"that the druidical religion was thought to have come "originally from Britain." We have already seen, that the ancient Scots were descended from the Gauls.[1] They could not have been unacquainted with Druidism, a system well known in the parent country in the time of Cæsar, more especially since the greater part of them must have left it for Ireland, after the time of Ptolemy, who shews the inhabitants of that country to have been principally of Gothic extraction.[2] "All Gaul was divided "into three parts, the Belgæ, the Aquitani, and the "Celtæ, who differed from each other in language, cus- "toms, and laws." In describing the manners of Gaul, Cæsar shews them to have been the same people, although he formerly observed, that the Druids were one of two orders of men, common to all Gaul. But his "omnis Gallia" of the sixth book, differs from his "om- "nis Gallia" of the first, in being applied exclusively to Celts, who were peculiarly called Gauls in his time.[3] For the Belgæ were descended from the Germans,[4] a race of men who had no Druids.[5] It appears, then, that this class of men belonged only to the Galli or Celts proper; and no one can with any certainty say, that their posterity, who left Gaul long after Druidism was known in that country, could have been ignorant of this religion.

The Celts, the indigenal inhabitants of Britain,[6] some of whom gradually emigrated to Ireland, and were there called Scots,[7] are said to have taught the Gauls the arts of the Druids. The Belgæ, of German origin, were at

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[1] Vid. supra.
[2] Ptolem. Geogr. Brit.
[3] Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. lib. i. Vid. Pinkerton's Enquiry.
[4] Cæsar, lib. ii. c. 4.
[5] Cæs. lib. vi. c. 13.
[6] Cæs. lib. v.
[7] The Roman Itinerarium of Richard.

that time unacquainted with the system. [1] In Britain, it was indeed supposed to have been invented. Their magic would not have disgraced even the Persians themselves; [2] and to this country the Druids repaired, to be instructed more fully in their own arts. [3]

It is difficult to give any account of that knowledge of the Druids, who were the only people that cultivated learning among the ancient Scots, before the introduction of Christianity. They industriously concealed their tenets of religion; and a precept, which they strictly observed, not to commit any thing to writing, precludes, in a great measure, the testimony of any living depositaries regarding their doctrines. [4] With the Druids, Physiology, or Natural Philosophy, was a favourite study. [5] But from contemplating nature, their minds were insensibly carried up to nature's God. Some of them professed to have a thorough knowledge of the law of nature, [6] or that science which the Greeks call Physiology. [7] They believed that the world was created by divine wisdom and power, which they represented by the emblematical figure of an egg coming out of a serpent: [8] That the universe was to undergo a succes-

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[1] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 13. and 14.

[2] Plinius, Historia Naturalis. [3] Cæs. lib. vi. c. 13. This last proof, that the Celts of Britain taught the Gauls the arts of Druidism, depends however upon the supposition of Cæsar, that it came originally from Britain, or the Celtic part of Britain; since the Belgæ, Germans or Goths, who constituted the other part of the inhabitants, were ignorant of this institution; Cæsar, lib. vi. Upon the certainty of Cæsar's supposition, which is highly probable, considering that the inhabitants of Gaul were accustomed to travel into Britain to learn this system, which was there more perfectly known; Cæs. lib. vi. c. 13, 14; the Scots derived their knowledge of Druidism, both from Gaul and Britain.

[4] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 18. [5] Cæs. lib. i.

[6] Diodor. Sicul. lib. v. c. 31; Strabo, lib. iv. p. 197; Cæs. lib. vi. c. 13; Mela, lib. iii. c. 12; Amm. Marcell. lib. xv. c. 9.

[7] Cicero de Divinatione. [8] Relig. de Gaul. lib. i. c. 26 et 3, ult.

sion of changes and revolutions, at certain periods, which were sometimes to be effected by fire, and at other times by water.[1] They had, indeed, many disquisitions about the power of God,[2] and the form of the universe. But their ideas on these things, like Pythagoras' mystical doctrine of numbers, to whose energy the formation of all things is ascribed,[3] were expressed in language dark, figurative, and enigmatical.[4] The magnitude of the world in general, and the form of the earth in particular, they pretended perfectly to ascertain. They even directed their inquiries to the most sublime and hidden mysteries of nature, the result of which was delivered to their disciples in verse.[5] From the motions and aspects of the heavenly bodies, with which the Druids seemed to be familiar,[6] they pretended to discover the councils and designs of the Gods; so that astrology was probably the first thing that led to the study of astronomy.[7] But most of their discoveries about the qualities and properties of matter, in the natural world, are entirely lost, and had been so many hundred years before this period.

There is nothing so curious in the annals of mankind, as the origin of the arts and sciences. Man is an ignorant being. He finds himself placed in the world, he knows not why; upheld by a power, he knows not how; and destined for a purpose, of which he is ignorant. He

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[1] Strabo, lib. iv. p. 197. [2] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 14.

[3] Barnet's Archæolog. Philos. c. 11. p. 210. Vide Dr Henry's History of Britain.

[4] Diogenes Laertes, lib. i. s. 6.

[5] Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. c. 31; Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi; Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xv. c. 9; Strabo, lib. xv. p. 197; Mela, lib. iii. c. 12.

[6] Cæsar and Mela.

[7] Kepl. Præf. ad Tabul. Bodolphin, p. 4. Henry's Hist.

casts his eyes on the vast creation around him, and observes the traces of infinite wisdom and power, with which he connects his origin. In seeking out that presiding planet, which rules his fate, he is led to observe the revolutions and regular changes of the heavenly bodies; and by these he is taught the vicissitudes of night and day, spring and harvest, summer and winter. He believes that there is a First Cause, a being too, who presides over the destinies of mortals, as well as the revolutions which take place in nature; and it becomes the first wish of his heart, by acts of adoration and praise, to secure the favour of this superior being, to whom he looks up for protection. Some of the religious solemnities observed by the Druids were held monthly, and others annually; [1] and this circumstance shews, that they had discovered a rule for marking the annual return of these festivals. Their great solemnities, however, both sacred and civil, the Druids in general regulated by the age and aspect of the moon, [2] a planet which seems also to have led them to measure their smaller divisions of time, by nights instead of days. The length of the moon's duration, nearly twenty-nine days and a half, with twelve of her revolutions, would suggest months, and that larger division of time, a year, consisting of three hundred and fifty-four days, which was the most ancient measurement of the year. [3] They began both their months and years, not from the change, but from the sixth day of the moon. [4] Their military operations, [5] and most of their religious ceremonies, were either performed upon that

[1] Cæs. ubi supra; Plin. Hist. Natural. lib. xvi. c. 44.

[2] See Henry's History of Britain, and the Origin of Arts and Sciences, vol. i. p. 231.

[3] Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, liber primus, c. 50; Plinius, Hist. Naturalis, lib. xvi. c. 44.

[4] Plin. ibid.

[5] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. i.

day, [1] or at full moon. [2] The cycle of thirty years, which was common at the same time, and generally distinguished by the name of an age, [3] was most probably the period, when their imperfect division of a year adjusted itself. It appears, that they had also a cycle of nineteen years, commonly called the cycle of the moon, [4] or Meton among the Greeks; [5] that is the period which the sun and moon required to reach the point, from which they set out, after performing their various revolutions. [6]

It is probable that the Druids had an idea of a Sabbath, and the division of time into weeks. The custom of naming some of the days of the week after the planets, which was of Egyptian invention, was in the second century so firmly established all over the world, that it is difficult to ascertain its origin in every nation. [7] One of their Celtic deities, Apollo, or the Sun, was worshipped every seventh day by the Greeks. The Druids were not ignorant of the period which some of these planets required to perform a revolution, since the hyperboreans of Caledonia kept a solemn festival every thirty years, in honour of the revolution of Saturn. [8] But as every planet which was then known, was individually an object of worship, either with the Druids or the Celtic nations; [9] it is probable that it was the planets themselves, and not the heroes after which several of them were called, that were

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[1] Plinius, lib. xvi. c. 44.

[2] Origin of laws and sciences, where the authorities will be seen, vol. i. p. 231.

[3] Plinius, lib. xvi. c. 44.

[4] Diodorus Siculus.

[5] Diodorus, ibid.

[6] Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. c. 47, p. 159; lib. xii. c. 36, p. 501.

[7] Dion. Cassius, lib. xxxvii.

[8] Plutarch de defectu oracularum. Ibid. de facie in orbe lunæ.

[9] Vid. Diodorus Siculus, lib. xii. c. 36. p. 501; lib. ii. c. 47. p. 159; that the Caledonians worshipped Apollo; Maximus Tyrius Dissert. 38, Jupiter; Isaacius Tzetzes in Lycophronis Alexandr. Plutarch de defec. &c. Vid. supra, Saturn.

worshipped. Some of the days of the week were named in honour of them at so remote a period, probably before Druidism was an acknowledged religion, that it is difficult to account for the circumstance on any other principle. Every planet they distinguished by name; and they were doubtless acquainted with the time, in which some of them performed their revolutions. [1] One observation uniformly leads to another. The Druids had not only a knowledge of the constellations of the heavens, but were also acquainted with the signs of the Zodiac. It was when the sun entered into the sign of Taurus, that the Caledonian Druids held the festival of Saturn. [2]

Nothing is so conspicuous in ancient history, as the superstition of mankind. The timidity of our nature, the religious feelings which seem to be interwoven as it were with the human constitution, the dependence of man on a superior being, and that ignorance by which the mind is fettered down to the most grovelling pursuits, in the first stage of civilization, are so many causes operating upon a being naturally susceptible; and soon give to man that complexion of character, which at once distinguishes the ignorant and superstitious.

The goddess Ceres was worshipped, at an early period, by the Celtic nations. [3] As she was identified by the Romans, who lived in Britain, with Virgo, one of the constellations, [4] it appears that the signs of the Zodiac were early known in this country. They were well understood by some of the priests of Apollo, five hundred years before the birth of

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[1] Plin. Hist. Naturalis.

[2] Plutarch de defectu oraculorum, et de facie in orbe lunæ.

[3] Strabo, Gall's Court, i. 46.

[4] Imminet leoni virgo cœlesti situ—Ceres, &c.; a Roman inscription on a stone found at Caer Vorran in the Roman wall, in Britain. Archæol. Æliana, vol. i. p. 107.

Christ;[1] and the Greeks seem to have been acquainted with them at a very early period.[2] But the signs of the Zodiac appear to have been of still more remote origin, and were probably coeval with heathen superstition, since the Egyptians, Hindoos and Greeks make use of the same zodiacal signs. As that system of pagan worship, on which they are founded, was common in all parts of the globe, their origin must be referred to the first Assyrian dynasty, previous to the time of the patriarch Abraham, before these nations had separated themselves in Upper India; or perhaps to the astronomical Chaldeans, in the time of Nimrod the hunter.[3] It is for this reason, that Ceres, the sign of Virgo, is said to have been the same as the Syrian goddess,—a deity worshipped as presiding over peace and virtue.[4] One superstitious observance paved the way for another, and the objects of heathen worship were multiplied at pleasure. These deities are identified with the Phœnician Astarte, the Greek Astrea, and the Egyptian Isis, a constellation which was represented by these nations, as a female, holding in her hands a sistrum or lamp, together with some ears of corn.[5] Thus the idolatrous worship of the Druids travelled from the eastern countries till it found its way to the remotest isles of the north. But amidst a burdensome ritual of new moons and solemn assemblies, and ceremonies, in which superstition bore the chief sway, they had not lost the knowledge of a Sabbath, the observance of which, although it was sometimes connected with particular druidical festivals, can, on legitimate principles, be traced to a higher origin.

The Druids taught their disciples many things concern-

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[1] Jamblicus, vit. Pythagor.
[2] Homer and Hesiod.
[3] Vid. Archæologia Æliana, p. 109.
[4] Lucan, vid. supra.
[5] See Faber's Pagan origins for the authorities.

ing the motions of the stars,[1] and the general plan of the universe,[2] with the disposition of all its parts.[3] But whether these discoveries were of their own invention, or borrowed from the Pythagoreans, whose doctrine it resembles, we cannot tell. Their astronomical observations were made in the recesses of woods and forests, as these were the most suitable to the mysterious character of the Druids, who courted secrecy.[4] In the isle of Anglesey, one of thier chief seats in Britain,[5] there are two places yet known by the name of Cærrig-Bruydn, the astronomer's circle, and Cær-edris, the city of the astronomers,[6] where one of the temples of these relentless ministers stood.

Astronomy is indeed one of the most ancient studies which attracts the notice of the human mind. Man is led to admire the beauty, the regularity and order of the heavenly bodies, before his attention is turned inwardly upon himself. But he has made some little progress in acquiring the necessaries, and a few of the comforts of life, before he thinks of the art of calculation.

Though it be probable, even from the pastoral habits of the Scots, and the physiological and astronomical researches of their Druids, that they had made some progress in the science of geometry, signs, or numbers, and the arts of calculation, yet we have no certainty that they did so, unless Abaris was a Caledonian Druid. This famous Hyperborean philosopher,[7] the scholar and friend

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[1] Cæsar, lib. vi. c. 14; Mela, lib. iii. c. 2.

[2] Plutarch de defectu oraculorum et de facie in orbe lunæ.

[3] Mela de situ orbis, lib. iii. c. 2; Cæs. lib. vi. c. 14; Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xiii. c. 9; Cluverius, lib. i. c. 38.

[4] Mela, lib. iii. c. 2.

[5] Tacitus, Annal.

[6] Mona Antiq. p. 84, and Dr Henry's Hist. Brit. vol. i. 4to. p. 290.

[7] Porphyrius in Vit. Pythag.; Jamblicus, lib. i. c. 28.

of Pythagoras, who was taught by Jamblicus to find out truth by the science of arithmetic,[1] imparted this knowledge to his countrymen, the Druids of the Hyperborean Caledonia. The use of numbers was probably brought over with the Scots when they left their Gallic ancestors, who were acquainted with the art of computation.[2] But as that people, together with the Celtic nations of Britain, made use of the Greek letters in all public or private accounts, and in the art of computation, they owed probably their knowledge of these things to the Phocians, a Greek colony, which settled at Marseilles. This people, who contributed much to civilize the Gauls, taught them also to live under laws.[3]

Man has not been long employed in acquiring necessary subsistence, before his inventive faculties are put in action. He cannot even build a habitation, for sheltering himself from the cold, without some mechanical knowledge; but before any stupendous fabric can be raised, particularly if it be composed of unwieldy materials, it is necessary, first, that he be acquainted with some of the mechanical powers. That the Druids knew something of this study, is probable, from those obelisks or pillars of one rough unhewn stone, which were generally erected on the summits of mountains. One of these, thirteen feet high, is described at an early period in a temple in one of the Western Isles.[4] If these pillars and circles, which are composed of large stones, are referable to the time of the Druids, a circumstance about which there can remain no doubt; we can hardly suppose it possible for these ponderous blocks to be moved, and brought from a distance,

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[1] Jamblic. vit. Pythagor. c. 19. [2] Cæs. de Gall. Bell. lib. vi. c. 14.
[3] Justin, lib. xliii. c. 4.
[4] Diodorus Siculus. See Dr Henry's History of Britain.

which they generally were, without a considerable knowledge of the mechanical powers.

There were indeed few things to which the speculations of the Druids did not extend, and of which they did not acquire a considerable knowledge. The Druids of Gaul were the physicians of that nation, [1] as well as the poets. They were acquainted with the salutary virtues of several herbs, which they applied in various ways; and though the materia medica of the most ancient physicians of all countries is scanty, consisting of a few herbs, believed to have the healing virtues, [2] they seem to have made some progress in these studies. They had a high opinion of the medical effect of the Mistletoe of the oak, or Alheal. This was believed to be a particular specific against barrenness, and the fatal effects of poison of all kinds; [3] an excellent medicine for softening hard tumours, for drying up scrofulous sores, for curing ulcers and wounds, for preventing the epilepsy or falling sickness; and a remedy for almost every disease. [4] But they attributed a more than medicinal virtue to Salago, a kind of hedge-hyssop, which was applied for curing any disease of the eyes, in using it as a preventive against misfortunes and accidents of every kind. [5] Many herbs and plants were set apart, for the purpose of healing, by the Druids. They entertained a high notion of the healing qualities of the Samulus, or Marshort, [6] and the Britannica, which was even exported to Rome, and other parts of the world. [7] From these herbs, which the Druids esteemed sanative, they sometimes made infusions, by boiling

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[1] Plin. Hist. Naturalis, lib. xxx. c. 1.
[2] Plinius, lib. xxv. c. 1.
[3] Plin. ibid.
[4] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxiv. c. 4.
[5] Plinius, lib. xxiv. c. 11.
[6] Pliny, ibid
[7] Plinius, lib. xxix. c. 3, and lib. xxvi. in proem.

them in water, or mixing them up with wine, after they had dried the leaves, stalks, and roots of the plants; and they were likewise acquainted with the secret of preparing vegetable ointments. [1]

But in all heathen nations, where superstition has taken deep root in the minds of the people, it is impossible to separate the real from the imaginary virtues of plants. Superstition not only obliterates the worship of the true God, but also impairs the judgment. Accustomed to pay that worship to many objects in nature, which was due to the Supreme Being alone, the Druids often ascribed those effects to the medicinal qualities of plants, which could alone be referred to the first great cause; and thereby attributed many virtues to them, which they did not possess. The Anguinum, or serpent's egg, was made use of as a charm, or medicine for procuring them the favour and friendship of great men, and as rendering them superior to their adversaries in all disputes. [2] The serpent was a creature distinguished for its cunning and guile. It was an object of worship among the Druids, and the Egyptians, who belonged to a more remote period of history; and they naturally attributed to its egg, those qualities, which they believed the serpent itself to possess.

The influence and authority of the Druids depended, however, on the reputation of their superior wisdom and learning. To the charms of their eloquence, indeed, they owed much of that admiration and influence, which they had gained among their countrymen; [3] and such was the power of their rhetoric, that they often stepped in between

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[1] Plinius, Hist. Natural. lib. xxiv. c. 11; lib. xxv. c. 9, and lib. xvi. c. 44; lib. xxiv. c. 11; lib. xxv. c. 9. Vid. Dr Henry's History.

[2] Plinius, lib. xxix. c. 3.

[3] Mela de situ orbis, lib. iii. c. 2.

two hostile armies, drawn up in battle array, and prevented bloodshed. They were intimately acquainted with that noble art, by which they believed they could subdue the hearts of all men. But they had a peculiar notion, that this art never shewed itself in such lively and engaging characters, as in the mouths of old persons. [1] This taste for eloquence, and their high esteem for those who excelled in that art, the Scots long retained. [2] The only learned men, indeed, to be found among the ancient Scots, the descendents of the Gauls, previous to the extinction of their order upon the dawn of Christianity, were the Druids, the professors of a system of religion and learning, which was thought to have originated with that people, and the other Celtic nations of Britain. [3] This class of men conceived it unnecessary to transmit their knowledge by writing. The mysteries of the system were hid in their own breasts, and the knowledge which they possessed was seldom committed to writing; but in almost all their public transactions and private business, they made use of the Greek letters. [4] It is this circumstance alone which can account for that striking similarity, which subsists between the ancient Gaelic and Irish characters, and the Greek alphabet. [5] The Phocians, a Greek colony, which settled at Marseilles in Gaul, and not only civilized that nation, but also taught them to live under laws, [6] probably instructed the ancestors of the Scots in the use of letters. [7] But it appears that they were acquainted with letters before this

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[1] Lucian in Hercule Gallico.

[2] Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 104.

[3] Cæs. Commen. lib. vi. c. 13, 14.

[4] Quum in reliquis fere rebus publicis, privatisque rationibus, Græcis literis utantur. Cæsar.

[5] Bucher.

[6] Justin, lib. xliii. c. 4.

[7] Herodotus.

period, since the alphabet introduced by Cadmus, the first who taught the Greeks the use of letters, bore a greater resemblance to the Gothic characters, than either to the Punic or Phœnician.[1] Thus, it appears, that the Druids were acquainted with letters, even before the renowned Greeks of old; and in the time of Archilochus and Xenophon, the Gaelic differed from the Greek characters.[2] Although the letters of Cadmus, in all the specimens which have yet been compared, agree with the Celtic characters in use among the ancient Scots and Irish,[3] yet this similarity furnishes no clue to the discovery of their origin. This indeed seems to be hid in impenetrable obscurity, and both the Celts and Greeks probably received them from one common source.

St Patrick introduced letters into Ireland, which he engraved upon the fir trees;[4] and as he was brought up in the Romish church, it is highly probable that they were Roman characters. The monasteries of Iona, Oransa, Ardchatton, Uist Rowdle, Melrose, and many other religious houses, cultivated learning in the Gaelic or Celtic language, which was then spoken in the remote parts of Great Britain and Ireland.[5] It was not till the eighth century, that the Latin began among the Scots to be a written language. Some of the saintly chronicles of these times, now written in Latin, were originally composed in the Gaelic or Celtic language,[6] which, at one period, was the

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[1] Xenophon and Archilochus. [2] Ibid.

[3] Cadmus' specimens in Gebelin Monde Primitif, compared with the characters of the Gaelic manuscripts of the H. Societies of London and Scotland. See their report on Ossian, and Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing.

[4] Sanctus Patricius scripsit Abietoria, 365; et amplius numero. Nennius. [5] Bed. Hist. Eccl. Vid. Nicolson's Hist. Library.

[6] Adamnanus, vit. Columb.

vernacular tongue of almost all Europe. Many Scottish manuscripts have been lately discovered, which were all written in these ancient characters. Some of these are as old as the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries; and in the beginning of the eleventh, the Gaelic was not only the general language of the country, but that usually spoken at Court. [1] It had, indeed, ceased in a great measure to be the fashionable language of the Scottish court from that period; but it was used by the bards on such occasions as the coronation of a king, in the middle of the thirteenth, [2] and was a written language in Scotland, even as late as the middle of the seventeenth century. [3]

The schools of learning among the Druids, like their temples, seem to have been hid from vulgar eyes, in the bosom of deep woods, or groves of oak. [4] The students belonging to this order of men, like the Druids themselves, were exempted from military and other services. [5] One of their retreats, which must have been numerous, in a country where the order lived in such a flourishing state, is still known by the name of Mysyrion, "the "place of studies." The inhabitants of Marseilles appear to have been the first who established open seminaries, in cities or towns, for the instruction of youth. Their institutions, laws, and customs, went far to civilize the Gauls; and in the time of Strabo, that city had been, for some time previous, a kind of university to the barbarians, where a great taste for the Greek learning soon prevailed. [6] But the academies, to which the youth from Gaul flocked from all quarters, for the superior instruc-

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[1] Turgot's Life of Malcolm III. of Scotland, and St Margar.
[2] Scotichronic. lib. x. c. 20; J. Major, lib. vi. c. 11.
[3] Appendix to the Report of the Highland Society of Scotland.
[4] Mela, lib. iii. c. 2. [5] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi.
[6] Strabo, lib. iv. p. 181, edit. Paris, A. D. 1620.

tion of the British Druids, [1] although they were concealed by groves of oak in deep woods, were yet situated in the midst of cities, since the British town was anciently a large forest, fortified with a wall and ditch. [2]

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[1] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 13, 14.

[2] Cæs. vid. supra. hence Caer-Edris, "The city of the astronomers," in the isle of Anglesey.

CHAP. II.

Christian literature.—Its origin.—Those sent out for education.—Nature of teaching.—Conversion of the Irish by Scotchmen.—Progress of monkery.—Ascetic institutions.—Columba.—Hyona.—Progress of Christianity in Scotland.—The method adopted by reformers.

We come now to a period in the history of the ancient Scottish literature, when its acquisition was doubly facilitated. The druidical system of learning was attended with such insurmountable difficulties, and acquired by such immoderate labour, that it had entirely become the property of one class of men, to the exclusion of all others. A system, which required twenty years for its acquisition, [1] was by no means inviting to the youth of ancient times, whose natural calling was arms. Nor was it intended that it should be so. The Druids had a law, to which they strictly adhered, not to commit any thing to writing; and to this, probably, may be attributed the degradation and ignorance of the common people in Gaul. [2] Had the British nations, in general, known the advantage of letters, this formidable law of abstaining from writing, which precluded the general use of learning, would have indeed prevented the exercise of them. But the time was now come, when this forbidding system of Druidism, which shut up

[1] Strabo, lib. v. p. 18, et Tacitus, de Mor. Germ. c. 2.

[2] Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 13.

learning from the great body of mankind, was to be thrown to the ground. In a state, where war becomes the leading feature in the character of the people, literature, of all others, is the last thing to be attended to. Definite notions of property, habits of industry, and a train of improvements, inconsistent with the predatory notions attending a warlike life in early times, must be formed, before the great body of the people, or even a few, find leisure and inclination for study. But the stimulus which they acquire, when things are thus constituted, and the religious tone inherent in our nature, instigate some, who are more alive to this desire of knowledge, to prosecute the study of cause and effect, and that belief of an hereafter, and those modes of worship, which their advancement in knowledge may have suggested. A change of this nature had taken place in the fifth century, when Christianity was first known in Scotland. More accurate notions of property, and all its train of improvements, had laid the foundation of that knowledge which it was about to develop, not only in the grove of the Druid, but also in the cottage or tent of the wandering Scot.

Christianity, as we have seen, was not altogether unknown in Dalriada before the time of St Columba. Palladius was sent, in the fifth century, by Pope Cælestin to the Scots, that he might confirm their faith.[1] But the effect which this had upon the general literature of the ancient Scots, if he had taught them the first rudiments of a Christian education, must have been little felt, if it had any effect at all. The Christian religion, however partially it must have been known amongst the Scots before this period, inspired them, yet insensibly, with a love of know-

[1] Saxon. Chronic. p. 10 or 18.

ledge. Some of them now began to see the advantages to be derived from a liberal education, and to appreciate the little learning which they had already acquired, in sending out some of their countrymen to be instructed more fully in its doctrines, and the literature of the day. Among this number was Pelagius, an Albion or British Scot,[1] who afterwards became so famous in the eastern and western churches. He had his education at Rome, where he profited under the discipline of its ancient masters, before that city was yet involved in ruin, with the rest of Europe, by the Goths and Vandals, who subverted all civil society. But it was the misfortune of Pelagius and the rest of mankind, to reject the simple doctrines of truth, as they are contained in the Gospel, and to enter into speculations, at once beyond the depth of human reason to investigate, and unnecessary for us to know. He endeavoured to reconcile the doctrine of the Trinity with reason, in a treatise which is now lost; and wrote some commentaries on the Epistles of Paul,[2] which are yet known by his name, and were published, with corrections and amendments, after he was condemned as a heretic, by the Latin churches.[3]

Although in his notions regarding grace, free will and predestination, he differed from Augustine, who often advanced, as certain truths, that which was only probable,[4] his commentaries were allowed to rank among the best on the sacred writings.[5] The more immediate effects of Christianity, upon the mind of a converted hea-

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[1] Alpinum or Albinum; ancient MS. Vid. Benedict. St. Maiire, tom. iii. app. 2, col. 78. Canem. (Palagium). Habet enim progeniem Scotiæ gentis, de Britannorum vicinia. Hieronymus, Præf. in lib. iii.

[2] Vid. R. P. Anton. Pagi; M. Leclerc, Biblioth. Choisie, vol. viii. p. 307.

[3] Cassiod. lib. Du Lect. cap. viii.; Philip L'abbé, Dissert. de Scrip. Eccles. p. 441.

[4] Vid. M. Du Pin, Biblioth. Eccl. tom. iii.

[5] F. Simon, Hist. Critique des Prim. Comment. du Nov. Testam.

then, if he is brought to a conviction of its truth, is very powerful. But it interests his feelings, before it convinces his reason; and thus he is in danger of becoming a blind enthusiast, rather than a useful Christian. The Scots had been degraded so much by means of the druidical religion, which permitted them to revel in every excess, that, after their conversion, many of them became abstemious hermits, and denied themselves every pleasure, and most of the comforts of life. Among these, Pelagius was the most distinguished for his ascetic habits. He not only preferred the solitary desert to the society of men, but recommended this kind of life to others, and became the author of an epistle on virginity, addressed to Demetriad, a devout man, who had taken the religious habit, [1] some fragments of the same kind which he sent to Augustus, [2] and a confession of faith. [3] It was probably to this writer, that the ancient Scots were indebted for the pure form of church government, which, at a very early period, prevailed among them. He was a man careful to find out the truth, and seems to have regarded the reasoning of the Apostle Paul, addressed to Timothy, respecting bishops and deacons, as unwarrantable for the gradations in rank, which at that time prevailed in the church. [4] However

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[1] Am. 413, in Egypt. Vid. Script. inter Opera Hieronym.

[2] Lib. de Grat. Christi, c. 30, 35.

[3] Ext. Concil. t. ii. p. 1563. He wrote a Treatise on Original Sin, Lib. de Grat. Chris. c. 17, 19; and Actual Conversion, vid. August. de Gest. Palæst. c. 2, 6; a Book of Testimonies, ibid.; Sermons, the Book of Will, vid. August. Lib. de Grat. Christ. c. 4, 43; the Book of Nature, vid. Gesn. Append. ad Par. I; an Epistle to a Presbyter, August. de Gest. Palæstin.; a Defence of his Faith; August. de Grat. Christ. et de Gest. Palæst.

[4] Queritur, Cur de presbyteris nullam fecerit mentionem, sed eos in episcoporum nomine comprehenderit, qui secundus uno pene unus est gradus? Pelagius in tom. i. c. 3, v. 8.

much this ecclesiastic was persecuted for his religious opinions, his greatest enemies bear testimony to his strict and exemplary life, from his early youth and upwards.[1]

The notions entertained by Pelagius, which seem to have originated, principally, in those opinions concerning God and the human soul, which were peculiar to some early Christians, gave rise to what was termed the Pelagian heresy. The tenets embraced by these heretics, as they were called, are free will, original sin, grace and predestination. 1. That man was created in a state of innocence, with a free will, capable either of good or evil, and biassed to neither. 2. That his posterity are born in innocence, with the same free will, and, though they die in early life, are not subject to damnation; but no sooner do they abuse this free will, than they become guilty of Adam's first sin. 3. That God has bestowed upon man several graces, the revelation of his will, all the ordinances of the Gospel, and the aid of the Holy Spirit; so that all men may be saved, and are only lost, because they resist the calls of God. 4. That he has predestinated none to eternal damnation, without a regard to their future merits; though he has elected some to life everlasting, for reasons best known to himself.[2] The author of these opinions was accused of many other heretical doctrines; but none of them appear to have been ever substantiated against him, save that of original sin. It was at Hippo, in Africa,[3] from whence he visited the monasteries of Egypt,[4] that Pelagius was arraigned before the ecclesiastical courts, for maintaining such doctrines, by Augustine, bishop of

[1] St. August. de Peccat. Mer.

[2] Dion. Petav. de Pelag. et Semipelag. Dog. c. 2, et seq.

[3] Gul. Cave, Hist. Liter. p. 291. [4] P. Anton. Pagi.

Hippo.[1] He was condemned at the council of Carthage,[2] called before a council at Jerusalem, and remitted by this assembly to Innocent, bishop of Rome.[3] Not satisfied with taking these steps against him, he was again summoned before fourteen prelates, headed by Eulogius, bishop of Cæsarea, at Diospolis, the ancient city of Lydda; and as he sufficiently answered the charge brought against him by his adversaries,[4] he was absolved from the censures of the church. But St Jeremy, the most learned of all the fathers, uniting with St Augustine, his professed enemy,[5] the council of Carthage, composed of sixty-seven African bishops, together with the council of Micevis, with Sylvian, primate of Numidia, as their president, anathematized, a second time, Pelagius, and his disciple Cælestius.[6] The emulation of the eastern and western churches was already excited. They viewed every proceeding of each other with mutual jealousy; and as both were aspiring to pre-eminent power, each thwarted the measures of the other. The Pope of Rome, instead of taking part with the African bishops against Pelagius, rebuked them sharply for having proceeded so summarily with him.[7] But upon the severe edict which the emperor Honorius and Theodosius published against Pelagius,[8] at the instigation of the African prelates, he altered his opinion, and condemned the doctrines laid to their charge, by these ecclesiastics.[9]

The church was at this time governed by an ambitious

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[1] Vid. Dion. Petav. de Pelag. et Semipelag. Dog. c. 2, et seq.
[2] Orosius Apol. de Lib. Arbit. Bib. tom. vi. p. 448.
[3] St. August. Epist. 157, tom. ii.
[4] August. de Gest. Palæst. Synod.
[5] Nov. Bibl. des August. Eccl. tom. iii.
[6] Innocen. Epist. ad Aurel. Epist. Carth.
[7] Zozimus, epist. ii.
[8] Vid. Jac. Usser. de Eccl. Brit. Antiq. p. 151.
[9] Ibid.; vid. August. et M. Mercator.

hierarchy of bishops; and as the eastern and western churches were already contending for the supremacy, their decisions savoured more of interested partiality, than cool deliberation. Eight canons were now issued against the Pelagian errors, and anathemas denounced, by the council of Cathage, on those who should dare to affirm these opinions to be true. The prefects or viceroys of the empire enforced the imperial law, by particular edicts of their own. [1] But notwithstanding all these avowed enemies, Pelagianism was not without its defenders, [2] who again gave rise to that much agitated question of Manicheanism, by accusing their adversaries of the tenets of that sect. [3]

A. D. 418.

In order to set this question at rest, another general council was called, at Carthage, consisting of two hundred and seventeen bishops, wherein all the proceedings of former councils were approved; and the emperor agreed to denounce vengeance upon any one, who should not give up the professors of these heretical doctrines, if he knew in what part of the empire they were concealed. [4]

These opinions found their way into Britain, and particularly Caledonia, the native country of Pelagius, whither the author most probably retired, from the persecutions of a church, too much under the influence of party spirit. There he introduced the superior learning of the eastern nations, and became the indirect means of converting many of the idolatrous inhabitants of that country to Christianity. These heretical doctrines, which were still gaining ground, not only led to the mission of Palladius, who was

[1] Cent. Magdeburg. tom. v. col. 849.

[2] M. Mercator, lib. sub fin. c. 6, No. 10, c. 9, No. 3.

[3] F. Garnier in Dissert. sup. M. Mer. Diss. 5, par. I.

[4] St. Prosper, Chronicon.

sent over to convert the Scots;[1] but also brought about the establishment of the famous school of Dubritius and Iltutus.[2] This was the first time that the speculations of the Scottish people were directed to these mysterious doctrines of scripture; and they continued to agitate the church, from the fifth century, down to modern times; and form a bond of keen contention, with certain parties, at the present day.

Dubricius and Iltutus are both said to have been disciples of St. German,[3] who instituted schools of learning among the Britons. The authors of Dubricius's life speak of great numbers who flocked to him from all quarters. Among these were St Thelianus, Samson and Aidanus, probably the successor of Conal; for Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, who was sent from Hy to Oswald king of the Deirians and Bernicians, was brought up in that monastery, under Abbot Segenius, the fifth from Columba.[4] In the ancient history of the Scots, it is only in cathedrals and monasteries that we are to look for literature of any kind. On the continent, where Palladius, Germanus, Lupus, and Findanus the instructor of St Columba, had their education, the value of learning, and the excellence of the finer arts, were not yet much depreciated. Public schools were erected in Constantinople, Rome, Marseilles, Edessa, Nisbis, Carthage, Lyons, Treves, and almost all the principal cities.[5] But amidst the allurements of bad example, and the perpetual alarms of danger from the barbarous Goths, the sacerdotal and monastic orders gradually lost all taste for solid science. The seven libe-

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[1] Prosper in Chronicon Florent. et Dionys. Cons.

[2] Beda, Histor. Ecclesiast. lib. i. c. 17. Constantine, vit. Germ.

[3] Vincent, Spec. Hist. lib. 21. c. 105.

[4] Beda, lib. iii. c. 35. 14. 15. 16. 17. Vid. Demps. Hist. Eccl. Scot. lib. 1. p. 9, and M'Kenzie's Lives. [5] Vid. Mosheim, Hist. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 1.

ral arts, as they were then called, Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy, they indeed taught;[1] but these consisted in a number of dry, subtile, and useless precepts, more calculated to perplex the memory, than to strengthen the judgment, or to become subservient to common use. Few indeed applied themselves to philosophy; but such as did so preferred the Platonic system, as being more conformable to the spirit and genius of the Christian religion, than the Aristotelian philosophy, which was looked upon as a labyrinth, beset with innumerable difficulties.[2] The Latins were principally directed in their researches by Victorinus, their philosophical tutor, who translated the most valuable of Plato's works into Latin, and brought his doctrine into general use.[3]

The treatise of Marcianus Campbella on philosophy, who was a native of Africa, was at this time esteemed almost the universal guide to the liberal arts. To this the logician, the grammarian, the geometrician, the orator, the arithmetician, and the astrologer, had all recourse for the illustration of the arts and sciences; and although it was somewhat rude in its style, it afterwards gained generally the applause of the world.[4]

Some of the Scots, as we have already seen, were brought over to the Christian doctrine, inculcated by St Ninian, before the mission of Palladius. This missionary had his education at Rome,[5] and was consequently the means of introducing into Scotland the system of learning

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[1] Hierom. Conringii. Antiq. Academiæ, Dissert. iii. p. 8.

[2] Lanonius de var. Aristotelis fortuna in Academia Parisiensi, and Mosheim, H. Eccl.

[3] Augustini Confessionum, lib. i. c. 2. sec. i. p. 105. 106. tom i. app.

[4] Gregor. Turon. in fin. lib. x. Franc. Hist.

[5] Beda, lib. iii. c. 4.

in use among the Latins. But it is to be lamented, that they received not the gospel in its pure and simple state, unadulterated by the comments of men. Pelagianism had been spread over the greater part of Europe, and particularly in the British churches;[1] and Palladius, who was sent by the court of Rome to purge Scotland of this heresy, propagated doctrines, which had perhaps as little foundation in the scriptures as some of these. Thus they received the divine revelation, mixed up with the mysteries of the Platonic philosophy, which made them decide upon doctrines, which are some of them beyond the sphere of human reason to investigate;—the source of not a few of those troubles, which agitated the church during the middle ages. But baneful as were these speculations, in fomenting quarrels among men, in exciting religious persecution, and in rendering obscure the simple truths of scripture, they were not altogether without their good effects. They tended much to interest the feelings of mankind in the doctrines of the Christian religion. In exciting some degree of notice, they laid open the minds of men to conviction; and weaned them, in some measure, from the superstitious observances of their forefathers. When the Christian religion once finds a footing, it will soon meet with many supporters. Ninian appears to have taken up his abode between the Roman walls, in the province of Valentia, where he founded the monastery of Whithern or Candida Casa, one of the most famous nurseries of learning in these parts.[2] As a great proportion of this part of the country belonged to the Scots,[3] the religious instructions of this venerable churchman, and the benefit arising

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[1] Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 2.

[2] Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. This early missionary died A. D. 432, soon after the demise of Palladius.

[3] Ado. Vienensis. Vid. supra.

from this literary institution, must have been sensibly felt by that people.

The nurseries of learning instituted in South Britain, by Dubricius and Iltutus, the disciples of St German, and the monastery of Banchor, which was founded by some learned men, [1] upon the arrival of Augustin in England, differed in their modes of education. The Benedictines, the order to which St Augustin belonged, were brought up in ignorance, and habituated to bodily labour, as well as devotion. St Benedict is said, not only to have despised learning, but took no care to have it introduced among his order. When Boniface gave an account of the origin of the Benedictine monastery at Fulda, [2] he characterizes the monks, more for their abstinence and manual labour, than for learning. [3] Though the Benedictine monks devoted some time for reading and instruction, and were more solid and regular in their discipline, than those of other monastic bodies, [4] it was principally the monks of the monastery, who discovered this solicitude for the interests of education. They allotted seven hours for working, and only two hours for reading, together with what was spent in prayer, [5] so that no public instructions were delivered in their schools, such as those of Iltutus and Dubricius. Bollandus and Henschenius make a very probable conjecture, [6] that when St German came into Britain after Augustus, he found the decay of learning to be one of the principal causes of the spread of Pelagianism. From this we shall not infer, that

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[1] Beda, lib. ii. c. 2. [2] Boniface, Epist. 141.

[3] This is confirmed by Trithemius, Chronic. Hirs. A. D. 890, who speaks much of the schools of learning, in the Benedictine Monastery, but not before 890. [4] According to Mosheim.

[5] Mabilon, Acta Sanctorum Ord. Benedict. sect. 1.

[6] Act. Sanct. Feb. 9th; Vit. St. Teliaj. Com. Prav. s. 1, No. 3.

learning was altogether neglected, before these schools were set up by Dubricius and Iltutus, the pupils of St German, to whom many Scotsmen resorted for instruction; but it is probable that they were the first, who, to any extent, brought up their followers, both to learning and devotion. [1]

The fate of the sciences was, however, less deplorable among the Greeks and Orientals, to whom the Scots are also indebted for their systems of education, than among the Latins. Alexandria, where Palladius, the first Scottish missionary, had his education, [2] was rendered famous for the study of law, physic and chemistry. Not only were eloquence, poetry, and the other liberal arts taught the youth at public schools, in almost every city; but even philosophy, and the more solid and profound sciences. These were diligently cultivated at Alexandria, which, with Constantinople and Edessa, was reckoned superior to all other towns, either as to the extent of its erudition, or the mode of study. [3] Olympiodorus, Hero, [4] and other eminent philosophers, added a lustre to the Alexandrian school; and at that time a sect of the modern Platonics retained there a considerable part of their ancient splendour. [5] Thus Palladius, who enjoyed the best education, that either the eastern, or western empire could afford, was the second, who established the superior literature of the Alexandrian school, among the Scots. St Ninian, the Scottish and Pictish missionary, [6] with Dubricius and Iltutus, at whose academy in Britain several Scotsmen had

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[1] Vit. Gildas, c. 3. [2] Vit. Du Pin, cent. 5.

[3] Æneas Gazæus in Theophrasto, p. 6, 16.

[4] Marinus, Vit. Procl. c. 9, p. 19, edit. Fabricii.

[5] Mosheim, Hist. Eccl.

[6] Vid. Bed. lib. iii. c. 4, that St Ninian had his education among the Latins.

their education,[1] were all brought up in the Latin school.[2]

Learning was not however confined to the British islands in the east: it soon extended itself to the west. The Irish were by this time instructed in the tenets of the Christian religion, and the rudiments of literature. Schools were planted among them, and ignorance began to give way, before their great instructor. St Patrick, a British Scot,[3] was a disciple both of his uncle St Martin in France and St German;[4] and being sent by Pope Cælestine to convert the Irish nation,[5] it is probable that he introduced here the discipline of Dubricius and Iltutus. The instructors of youth are there said to have taught according to the ancient method of acquiring knowledge;[6] by which was understood, the union of human learning with divine. This missionary, to whom the Irish are indebted for their knowledge of the Christian religion, set up at Armagh what was termed "a legal society for the "study of learning." But as the Apostle of the Irish belonged to the Scottish nation, whence he had been carried a prisoner from the western coasts of Caledonia, by the Irish,[7] the mode of teaching introduced by him, resembled much that of the Caledonians.

Some of the Scotsmen, who assisted in the conversion of Ireland, were ordained bishops; but these seem to have differed considerably from the dignitaries of the modern church. St Mæl, a nephew of St Patrick, by

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[1] Vit. Dubricii. Among these was Aidanus. Vid. supra.

[2] Bed. lib. i. c. 17; Prosper in Chronic. Florent. et Dionys. Cons.

[3] Notker Balbutus in Martyrol.

[4] Erricus of Auxere, Biblioth. MSS. Lab. tom. i. p. 537.

[5] Marianus Scotus ad ann. 432.

[6] Secundum formam studiorum antiquorum. Rouse, who lived in the time of Edward IV.

[7] Vita Patricii; Tillemont, Mem. Eccl. tom. xvi. p. 456, 782, &c.; Usher, Antiq. Eccl. Brit.

his sister Darerca, and the first bishop of Armagh in Ireland,[1] was brought up to bodily labour, by which he supported himself.[2] Many miracles are ascribed to his great predecessor St Patrick, who could have easily imposed upon an ignorant body of men, like the Irish. His virtues and miracles are celebrated by this ecclesiastic, which is certainly a species of writing more peculiar to that age, than modern times. These memoirs were destitute both of precision, elegance, and sometimes of truth. The propagation of the Christian religion was at first supported by miracles. They could only demonstrate its divine original to an ignorant body of men, by those manifestations of power, with which the Almighty was once pleased to accompany the revelation of his word. But a misguided and ardent zeal for its propagation, the success which attended its first diffusion, the sanctity with which the early propagators of the Christian religion were regarded by their followers, and the ignorance of the unconverted Heathens, gave a new turn to things, and induced many of these missionaries to impose upon the people by false miracles, after all extraordinary manifestations of the divine power had ceased. Instead of separating truth from falsehood, and tracing events to their real cause, the writers of these lives laboured to render the deception still more complete; and confirmed by their artful colourings, what at first was only doubtful. The life of St Patrick, the tutelary saint of the Irish nation, was written by another nephew, the son of his sister Tygridia, a biographer, who appears to have been known by the same name as the subject of his memoir.

But the most distinguished missionary belonging to the Scottish nation, who went over to Ireland in the end of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth century, was Gildus

[1] Jocelin, Vit. St. Patricii, c. 186.

[2] Vid. Sir James Ware, an Irish writer, lib. i. p. 2; Ulster. Annales.

Albanus, a native of Albany, from whence he probably derived his name. [1] He proceeded to Ireland upon entering into holy orders, and succeeded to the church at Armagh. But returning again to Albany, he taught for some time in the Abbey of Lancarvan, under Abbot Cadoc, from whence he removed to Echni. Upon the disturbances which arose in the Orkney islands, between the pirates and the native inhabitants, he was soon obliged to move to Glastenbury. Here he built a church on the banks of the river Ax, which he dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in contradistinction to the heathen deities, after whom the fanes of the Druids were generally named; and there spent the remainder of his days. Most of the monks, who had hitherto favoured the world with their works, confined their attention principally to saintly biography, or theological lore. But Gildus Albanus, extending the sphere of his observation a little farther, took notice of what was going on around him, and is the first Scottish historian whom we meet with. He wrote a book on the victories of Aurelius Ambrosius, and is quoted sometimes by an author of the middle ages. [2] However much the Scots were harassed in these troublesome times, some of them found leisure for studies of no ordinary importance. The Celtic jurisprudence attracted at this time the attention of the learned; and Albanus translated the Mulmutine laws, out of the British or Celtic language into Latin, which were afterwards written in the English language, by King Alfred, of illustrious memory. [3] As to the prophecies ascribed to him, they are mere monkish fables, laid to his charge by some modern authors, who have too much blended falsehood with historical facts, to deserve any notice. [4]

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[1] Vid. Demp. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. vi.

[2] Geofrydus de Monmouth, lib. ii. c. 1; lib. iii. c. 2; lib. i. c. 18.

[3] Geofryd. Monmouth, Ibid.

[4] Such as Buchanan, lib. v.; Boece, &c.; but among this number we include not Jacob. Asser. Primord. p. 725.

Meanwhile, the conversion of the Irish was not neglected. St Benigne, another of St Patrick's disciples, who accompanied him into Ireland, contributed much to the instruction of this barbarous nation. Joceline acknowledges himself indebted to a book composed by St Benigne, [1] which was probably his life of St Patrick. This monk was fond of literary pursuits, and found leisure, amidst his ecclesiastical duties, to dedicate some portion of his time to this work, which was written partly in Latin, and partly in Irish. [2]

We have already noticed the high esteem, in which the Platonic philosophy was held, in the Alexandrian school, where Palladius, who deserves to be ranked among the better sort of writers, on account of his Lausiac History, and Life of Chrysostom, had his education. We have also observed the opinions of Pelagius concerning divine grace, and the corruption of human nature, to which the Platonic opinions regarding God and the human soul probably give rise. The credit, however, of the Platonic philosophy with the clergy, the principal supporters of learning, and the preference which it received, in being less repugnant to the genius of the gospel, could not prevent Aristotle's doctrine from making its way into the world. The resemblance of the Platonic philosophy, and the Pelagian opinions, as well as the anathemas denounced against these heretics, and the abettors of the Nestorian, Arian and Eutychian controversies, made many declare openly for the philosophy of Aristotle. The Platonics themselves admitted the Dialectics of Aristotle into their schools, and recommended them to such of their followers as had a taste for logical discussion. [3] This su-

[1] Jocel. Vit. St. Patricii, c. 39.
[2] Ibid. c. 136.
[3] Mosheim, Cent. v. p. 2, c. 1.

perior system of education, in the Greek church, introduced by Palladius, and others, among the Scots, began now to manifest itself. St Kentigern, an abbot of a very large monastery at Glasgow, from whence he used to send several missionaries to convert the Pagans, was baptized and educated by Servanus, one of the disciples of Palladius,[1] who was intimately acquainted with St Columba.[2] That the Heathens, to whom Kentigern sent missionaries, were the Scots, is highly probable. He was educated under Servanus, a disciple of Palladius, the apostle of the Scots. Gildus and Bede, who take notice of every body of the Britons and Saxons, as they were converted, would have mentioned the circumstance, if they had been sent to the former, a number of whom were already brought over to Christianity.

The progress of human intellect is gradual. When the ignorant are reclaimed from heathen idolatry, their zeal is awakened, before their judgment is ripe. The Scots, when they were at first converted to Christianity, were not only zealous, in extending the knowledge of their religion, but the increase of mysticism became also apparent. Many virgins, imposed upon by the delusive appearance of those who belonged to this sect, being naturally inclined to retirement and meditation, abandoned all worldly pleasure, and gave themselves up to solitude, contemplation and prayer. Like the Anchorites of the east, they preferred this mode of life, that they might avoid the society of sinful mortals.[3] St Patrick is said to have introduced St Bridget, a Scots lady,[4] with her nine virgins, into Scotland; and

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[1] Vid. Stillingfleet, Origin. Britannicæ, c. 4, p. 209.

[2] Collier's Life of Kentigern, cent. vi. p. 60, fol.

[3] Sulpitius Severus, Dial. i.; De Vit. Martin, c. 10, p. 80, edit. Veron.

[4] Camerarius de Reb. Gest. Scot. lib. iv. p. 143.

under the direction of this matron, who appears to have been the abbess, they took up their solitary retreat at Abernethy, which was afterwards dedicated to St Bridget.[1] Here they possessed all the lands and tithes that the prior and canons afterwards enjoyed, which were by no means inconsiderable.[2] The foundation of this religious establishment is ascribed to Nectan II, a Pictish monarch; an establishment which afterwards became famous for its learning. The city at which the Pictish monarchs took up their abode, belonged to the monks of this nunnery or monastery, extending from Abertrent to Carpuil.[3] This was probably the first nunnery, which belonged to this country; and although these virgins preferred this mode of life, and acted doubtless from motives of sincerity, the whole system was fraught with the degradation of morality, and became prejudicial to the interests of true religion. The monastic life, although latterly it became equally dangerous to the purity of the monks' lives, and the good morals of the people, was undoubtedly the means employed in the hands of Providence for converting this country from the degrading superstition of heathen idolatry. It was a mode of life which the barbarous state of the world pointed out as the safest for a religious body of men; and to the monks we are probably indebted, bad as their system of morals in general was, for the learning which we at this day enjoy.

The world is the creature of fashion; and the men of the world follow after that, which happens to be the prevailing mode of the day. The Christian religion was as yet partially established, its sublime doctrines but imper-

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[1] Chronicon Pictorum.

[2] Chronicon Aberneth.; quoted by Fordun, Scotichronic. lib. iv. c. 12.

[3] Belfour, Collect. Stratherne.

fectly known; and now that mysticism began to prevail, many abjured the active duties of life, and retired to the desert. A certain abbot, named Congal, is said at this time to have persuaded an incredible number of people, to abandon the duties of social life, and spend the remainder of their days in lonesome solitude, under a rule which he himself invented.[1] The progress of real monkery, however, gained more countenance, from the disciples of the eastern missionaries, than those who received their education in the Latin church. The gloomy superstition of the mystics, and the instructions which they conveyed, to those who were desirous of raising their souls above every thing human,[2] increased the number of those solitary individuals, who discharged the duties of a Christian, in private meditation, living at a distance from the haunts of men.[3] Baldred, or Balthere, a disciple of Kentigern,[4] inhabited a cell at Tyningham, in Haddingtonshire, where a monastery was afterwards erected.[5] The miserable life which he led, the austerity of his manners, and the privations and hardships which he endured, in order to attain to a more intimate connection with his Maker, instead of advancing the cause of true piety and learning, gave a new impulse to the enthusiasm of these ignorant times. It was in Lothian, that this morose Christian took up his principal abode. Being eminently devout, he renounced all worldly pomp, and following the example of John the divine, resided in solitary places, and betook himself to the islands of the sea. Among these he fre-

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[1] Vid. Jacobus Usserii Antiq. Eccles. Britan.

[2] Jo. Launii Indicium de Scriptis Dionysii, tom. ii. App. part i. p. 562.

[3] Vid. Acta Sanctorum, tom. ii. Januar. ad d. 17, p. 107, where we find an account of their number, after the propagation of these doctrines.

[4] Hay's Scot. Sacra, p. 30. [5] Beda Opera, p. 231.

quently resorted to one called Bass, where he led a life, without all question, strict and contemplative. For many years he recalled to his remembrance the image of the blessed Kentigern, his instructor; the sanctity of his life; [1] and the amiableness of his disposition; and dwelt so long upon these subjects, that by some he was thought to see into futurity. Many miracles are accordingly ascribed to this saint, by the credulity of the times; but these are too palpably false, to merit a place here. [2]

These Ascetics led lives of great simplicity. They took up their abode in small cells, where some of them lived in such purity and simplicity, that they excited the wonder and admiration of the countries to which they belonged. In these solitary retreats, many applied to Theology, Philosophy and Belles Lettres, and made no contemptible progress in these rare pursuits. But the sanctity of their lives, and the austerity of their manners, becoming more public, people came to visit them from all quarters. An efficacy no less supernatural than superstitious was sometimes ascribed to their prayers; [3] and it was this credulity, which seems to have been encouraged, by some designing monks, that gave birth to the fables and miracles, which so often disgrace the page of saintly biography. Piety, however, was the principal feature in the lives of these devotees; and from an answer of a Scottish prince, who stole privately into France, and dwelt in the forest of Fordill, to his countrymen, who made offer of the throne to him, it appears, with what contempt, they looked down upon the splendours of a court, and all earthly grandeur. "I "have," said he, "made choice of this condition of life

[1] Brev. Abredonensis, Murcius, fol. 63-6. [2] Murcius, fol. 63, 64.

[3] Vit. St. Floren. apud Sur. Haræum, p. 833; Camerarius de Scot. Piet. lib. iii. p. 186.

"which you see, and am contented with this little cell "for my dwelling." "These garments," pointing to his apparel, "serve me for clothing; and my food is sim- "ple pottage of herbs, which I dress for myself. More "I desire not, nor would I change this state of life, with "the most fortunate king in the world. I seem to you "deformed, yet is my body sound, and my blood uncor- "rupted; but it is the will of God that I should look so, "that I may be kept humble, and learn to amend my "life. Go you therefore home, and shew my brother, "and the noblemen who sent you hither, that I live con- "tented in this private manner, and will not exchange "it with any state whatsoever: And from me desire "them to serve God purely, to live justly, and preserve "peace among themselves, which if they do, they shall "always be victorious over their enemies." Thus he blessed them, and withdrew into his cell.[1]

The progress of monkery, from the single cell to the monastery, had been sensible and rapid. The college of Iona, upon its endowment, was acknowledged the superior over a hundred of these monastic institutions, the number at that time said to have been built by Columba alone.[2] The monastic mode of life bears a more strict conformity to the delirious fanaticism of the oriental, than the western monks, whose lives were more rigid and austere.[3] This sincere, though gloomy turn of mind, which soon gave rise to monastic institutions, seems to have been introduced into Scotland by Palladius, who had his

[1] Vid. Gaguinus, Hist. Fran. lib. iii.; Camerarius, de Scot. Doct. Fert. et Piet. p. 168; Surius, tom. vii.

[2] Adamnanus, vit. Columb. lib. iii. c. 5.

[3] Sulpitius Severus, Dial. i. de Vita Martini, p. 65; edit. Veron.

education in the eastern church, or his predecessor Pelagius, the famous schismatic.

St Columba was a Scotchman from Ireland.[1] Whether he was educated in Britain or Ireland, he was brought up either in the system of education established in Britain, by St German or Lupus, or that taught by Paladius, and his followers. He brought along with him from Ireland, when he came over to convert the Scots and Caledonians, twelve companions or apostles, in imitation of the great Head of the Church, whose names are recorded in an ancient manuscript.[2] When he arrived on the Scottish shores, he was much annoyed by the idolatrous priests. Upon his landing in Iona, at Pentecost eve, some Druids, in the habits of monks, approaching the apostle of the Scots and Picts, pretended that they were also come to preach the Gospel, and requested him and his followers to betake themselves to some other place. But Columba discovering the imposture, maintained his ground so firmly, that they departed and left him.[3] It is not only in the cell that we are to trace out the literary acquirements of those men, who have been the benefactors of the human race, and the best patriots of their country. We must follow them to the field, and accompany them in every deed of benevolence, which served to rescue their benighted countrymen from the thraldom of vice and ignorance. This monk, whose singular rule of dis-

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[1] Adamn. vit. Columb. lib. i.

[2] These were Baithen and Cumin, the two sons of Brindin, who were his successors; Cobthach, his brother; Ernan, the uncle of St. Columba, with Dernat his servant; Rui and Fethno, the two sons of Rodan; Scandal, the son of Bresail, the son of Eudei, the son of Niell Luguidi; Mocutheunne Echoid Thorannu, Mocufir Cetea, Cairnaan, the son of Branduib, the son of Meilgi, and Grillaan. A MS. cited by Usher, Primord. p. 69.

[3] Odonellu, Vita Columbæ, lib. i. c. 18; Messingham, p. 165.

cipline is yet extant, and which was superior to all the rest in simplicity and brevity,[1] instituted that monastery of Hyona, which afterwards became so famous in the annals of literature. It was not till the establishment of this monastery, when schools of religion were multiplied throughout Dalriada, that the Scots would in general begin to see and appreciate the advantages of education. It is true, that St Cætaladus,[2] St Frideline, and many other Scotchmen, before the time of Columba, travelled throughout Italy, Germany, and France, in order to become better acquainted with the learning of the time. But they never returned to instruct their ignorant countrymen, but became some of them bishops, and settled there; and it is to St Columba, who came over to convert the Picts and Scots, that our ancestors are principally indebted for their learning. His father was Fedhlimdium, the son of Fergus, and the great grandson of Neall, King of Ireland; his mother was descended of Aithne, the daughter of Macanare,[3] or the daughter of Loarn, who first reigned in Scotland, in conjunction with his brother Fergus.[4] Upon his arrival in the [illegible]d, Columba applied for protection from Conal, King of the Scots, his relation, from whom he received Hyona,[5] where he instituted a monastery.

Monastic establishments began now to be built in several places. Oronsay, which was adorned with a church and monastery, was founded by this distinguished eccle-

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[1] Vid. Jac. Usserii, Antiq. Eccl. Brit.

[2] Barth. Moron. Vit. St. Colu[illegible]. ; edit. Rom 1614.

[3] Columba patrem habens Fe[illegible]hlimdium, filium Fergusii, matrem Æthneam nomine, Scotica vero lin[illegible] [illegible]are. Adam. vit. Columb. [illegible]. i. c. 1.

[4] Smi[illegible] Life of Columba, p. 5, Note.

[5] Vit. St. Columb. lib. i. c. 7; Tigherna[illegible], and the Annals of [illegible]ster, A. D. 573; Conail MacCo[illegible]ail, qui obtul[illegible] in [illegible]ulam Hycolum[illegible].

siastic;[1] and the monastery of Govan, on the Clyde, was either erected by him[2] or a contemporary.[3] The influence which religion had on the minds and manners of men, was in the meantime very great. It reached even to the palaces of kings, and some princes preferred an heavenly to an earthly crown. Constantine, king of Cornwall, who had renounced an earthly kingdom, began to fight under the banners of the cross, and leaving Ireland with St Columba, he preached the Gospel to the Scots and Picts. This benevolent prince founded a monastery of brethren near Clare, over which he presided as Abbot. He converted the whole country about Kintyre, where he himself suffered martyrdom for the faith, and was buried at his own monastery at Govan.[4] Columba, who had the meanwhile established many monasteries, and religious houses, and converted most of the inhabitants in the western part of Caledonia, round about Hyona, directed his attention to the Picts, some of whom, south of the Grampian mountains, had already renounced idolatry in the time of St Ninian. For some time he took up residence in the court of Brudius, king of the Picts, at Inverness. He there met with a petty prince of the Orkneys, and being desirous to establish Cormac, one of his own disciples, who was anxiously engaged in seeking out some place of retirement, solicited Brudius that he would extend his protection to his beloved son. Cormac, in consequence of this recommendation, was speedily delivered from the imminent danger, to which he had been exposed in these regions;[5] and was, no doubt, instrumental in turning many from the

[1] Vid. Martyn.
[2] Colgan, vit. Columb.
[3] St Constantine.
[4] Scotichronicon, lib. iii. c. 26
[5] Vit. St. Columb. lib. ii. c. 17; apud Messingham

service of blind idolatry, to the worship of the living God. The Christian religion had long to struggle with the prejudice of ancient superstition; and although it was so early planted in this place, that one of the Orkney islands, Papay, derived its name from the papas or priests, yet the inhabitants seem not, in the twelfth century, to have been all converted to Christianity. [1]

Although the early Christian missionaries had certainly introduced among the Scots, manners and customs less barbarous than those of the natives, who lived among the mountains of Ergadia, yet in their conversion from pagan superstition, their progress was slow. Gregory, who did much to disseminate the knowledge of literature in Britain, knew, that inveterate habits were only to be undermined gradually, and not rooted out all at once. He accordingly directed St Augustin, regarding the British churches, that their temples should be preserved, and their days of festivity continued. We have already observed, that some of the fanes of the Scots were converted into places of Christian worship. As the people had been used to slaughter oxen in their sacrifices to devils, some feasts were, on this account, substituted in their stead. On the days of the dedication of churches, or on the nativities of the martyrs, whose relics were there deposited, festivals, which were common, not only in England, but latterly in Scotland, the people built for themselves huts of the boughs of trees round the churches, where they celebrated these solemnities, with religious feasting. They did not, indeed, pollute themselves by offering up sacrifices to the devil, and his blind divinities, but they slew the oxen still, that they might have an opportunity of praising God, before they sat down to eat them. [2] While

[1] Chronicon. Thomas, Bishop of Orkney.
Ap. Spelman, Conc. vol. i.

some amusements were thus permitted to our ancestors, they enjoyed a higher satisfaction in the observances of the Christian religion. It is impossible to retrench all at once those outward ceremonies, which are so congenial to human nature. [1] The habits of youth are not irradicated even in old age. The prejudice of early education, the licentiousness of the druidical worshippers, and the ferocity of their character, the thraldom in which the minds of men were held by the priests, the credulity displayed in their religious worship, served to stamp deeper the impression of their heathen rites, and to alienate from the simple observances of the Christian religion, a rude and a barbarous people. So difficult is it to wean the affections, from that to which they have been long habituated, that the early reformers yielded to the people, in those things, which were more congenial to their feelings, so long as they were innocent.

In a religious education, music, as it tended to allure these barbarians to the Christian modes of worship, occupied much of the public attention. At last, it acquired such a predominating influence over the mind, that it contributed not a little to retard the progress of deeper and more important studies. [2] The monks of Hyona spent much of their time in this exercise. [3] So much was it valued in these early ages, that heaven was thought to have vouchsafed it to some of its favourites; [4] and by the composition of little poems, "which were sung during "divine service," the people were gradually instructed

[1] Ap. Spelman, Conc. vol. i.

[2] Brucker, Historia Phil. tom. iii. lib. ii. c. 2.

[3] Adamnanus, vita St. Columbæ; Gildas, epist.

[4] Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 2.

and civilized.[1] But, however much it may have softened the ferocious spirit of the times, and tamed the heart of the hardy barbarian, it led to the total neglect of more important studies, and was one of the ostensible, if not a real cause, of the decline of literature. There were, indeed, more treatises written upon music, than any of the other branches of science whatsoever; and so much had the literary character of the nation at that time deteriorated, that the best singer was always accounted the most learned man.[2]

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[1] Anglia Sacra; tom. ii. p. 9.

[2] Fabricii, Biblioth. Lat. tom. i. p. 44.

CHAP. III.

Culdee establishment.—College or monastery of Hy.—Bishops.—Presbyters.—Monks.—Abbots.—Seniors.—Origin of this mode of life.—Privileges and character.

THE religious orders of men among the ancient Scots were known by the name of Culdees, from *cuil*, or *cel*, a retreat, and *De*, God. As the defenders of their peculiar modes of worship observe, that they received them from the disciples of St John,[1] it is probable that it was a name given to those refugees, who had fled to places of safety in the north, which were inaccessible to the Romans during the Dioclesian persecutions, in the second or third century.[2] The Culdee establishment approaches nearer to the simplicity of the church in ancient times, before the papal distinctions were introduced, than any church polity perhaps in the world. It bears, indeed, a striking resemblance to the presbyterian form of church government. The Culdees are, no doubt, said to have ordained bishops, whom they sent to Northumbria, and other parts of England, for the purpose of converting that nation;[3] but these were never called bishops, by any of the most an-

[1] Ledwick's Antiq. p. 55, 56.

[2] Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loc[illegible] Christo vero subdita. Tertulinus Lib. advers. Judæos, p. 13[illegible]. They are sometimes spoken of in the writing of Giraldus Cambrensis, and frequently mentioned in the Reg. of S. Andrew' and other ancient Chronicles.

[3] Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 3. [illegible] Oswald ordained by th[illegible] 'jores natu Scottorum.'—"Aidan dignum [illegible]

cient ecclesiastical writers.[1] If we interpret Bede, according to what appears to be his most probable meaning, these missionaries were not even ordained bishops by the Scots, since ordination was always performed by the elders of that nation,[2] who were abbots, presbyters and monks.[3] Those whom he styles bishops, in various parts of his work, are said, for the most part, to have been monks who passed over from Scotland, to preach the Gospel to the Northumbrians. Bishop Aidan, who went over into that kingdom, was himself accounted a monk, even after he had entered into the sacerdotal office.[4] Columba upon one occasion, if we can believe his too credulous biographer, whose works abound in miracles, sent for a priest at the consecration of the Eucharist. Suddenly casting a look at him, out of complaisance, he desired him to use the privilege of his order, and break the bread according to the episcopal mode,[5]—a proof, at least, that Columba, the founder of the Scottish church, did not himself belong to this order. The Culdees of Hyona were

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elders. Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. 5. Finan in episcopatum successit ab Hy insula. Ibid. Hist. lib. iii. c. 17.

[1] Beda. The only instance of this kind is found in the Annals of Ulster, where Coide, who was only an abbot of Hyona; Smith, in Vit. Columb. p. 164; was called bishop of Hy; Coide, Episcopus Iæ Pausat.; Ulster Annal, A. D. 711; contrary to the testimony of Bede, who never denominated the Culdees Bishops. Vid. Dr Jamieson's Hist. [2] Vid. sup.

[3] Bed. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 44. Habere—"insula (Iona) abbatem presbyterum non episcopus (Columba), sed presbyter—et monachus." Colgan's Hist.; vid. Bed. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 3, that the Scottish missionaries were presbyters or monks.

[4] Exin cœpere plures per dies de Scottorum regione venire Britannicam,—Et credentibus gratiam baptismi, quicumque sacerdotali erant gradu præditi ministrare.—Nam monachi erant maxime, qui ad prædicandum venerunt. Monachus ipse episcopus Aidan. Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. 3.

[5] Hunc solus episcopus episcopali ritu frange panem. Adam. vit. Colum. lib. i. c. 16. Mor[illegible]ingham.

not indeed diocesan bishops;[1] for this title seems only to have been given them out of respect; because those official situations to which they were chosen, were, in England, usually filled with diocesan bishops.

The state of the Scottish and Pictish nations was favourable for the establishment of the prebyterian form of government, upon the introduction of Christianity into that country. The distinctions of rank were there little known. The simplicity of their manners is attested by ancient authors; and even the great founders of their religion, who were men eminent both for piety and learning, although brought up in the Latin and the Greek church, were convinced of the divine origin of this form of church government.[2] The Culdee system, and the presbyterian form of religion, long prevailed in Scotland; and we are to refer its entire preservation, as much to the independence of the Scottish church, from that of Rome or Constantinople, as to its great simplicity.

The whole Scottish nation, and even bishops themselves, were, by an unusual law, subject to a presbyter or abbot, who was their head.[3] The Scottish bishops were under the control of the Abbot of Hy;[4] for this reason, because they were ordained by Scottish presbyters, and received the name of bishops, by the courtesy of the country in which they lived. The successors of Columba, who were abbots, imitated the example of the founder of their sect, who was only a presbyter and monk, adhered to his order,[5] and became some of them very distinguished for

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[1] Sax. Chronic. vers. Gibson, p. 21. [2] Vid. supra.

[3] Semper abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provinciæ, et ipsi etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti. Bed. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 4.

[4] Since Columba was an abbot, not a bishop. Chr. Sax. vers. Gibs. p. 21.

[5] Abbati illius insulæ—qui Columba prædicator non epi/copus fuit, sed presbyter et monachus, cujus successores ejus institut[illegible] valde claruerunt. Bed.

their piety and learning. That the principal monks in the Scottish monasteries were abbots, and not bishops, is a truth attested by all the ancient authors, who make mention of the Culdees. [1] And if some of these writers assert, that they sent out bishops to various countries, they never deny that this class of men received any other than presbyterian ordination. [2] Although St Columba is represented as "the Arch-abbot of all Ireland," he did not renounce his humble office of a presbyter-abbot, for the see of an archbishop. He was, nevertheless, held in such pre-eminence among the inhabitants of this, and other countries, that he is said to have confirmed, and consecrated, all the Irish bishops of his time. [3]

The establishment of the Culdees was divided into colleges or monasteries. In each of these there were twelve brethren, with an abbot, who had supreme authority over the rest. This practice was observed, in imitation of Columba, supposed by some to be the founder of the sect, who brought over a like number of followers with him from Ireland. [4] The authority of the abbot does not appear, however, to have been supreme in all cases; for he himself was only a presbyter and monk. [5] Although the Scottish nation, as an ecclesiastical or Christian body, and even bishops themselves, were subject to him, ordination

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[1] Unicus, qui sedem habere præcipuam incipiebat Sodoræ in Argadia. Reliquiæ divi Andreæ, p. 27, 28; referring to the abbots of Hyona, we presume, —Scotichronic. lib. vi. c. 49; or Excerpta de sexto libro Scotichron. capitulo primo, where the Abbot of Hyona is mentioned; Brev. Abredon. in Julio, fol. 24, 25.

[2] Excerpta de sexto libro Scotichronicon, capitulo primo. Ex suo corpore episcopum crearunt (Culdei,) contrasted with, "Abbatiæ fundari, et de rationibus ditari. Reliquiæ divi Andreæ, p. 27, 28.

[3] Scotichron. lib. vi. c. 49.

[4] Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum. Bed. lib. iii. c. 4. Habebantur tamen in ecclesia St Andreæ, quota et quanta tunc erat, tredecim per successionem carnalem. Excerpt. Reg. St. Andr.

[5] Qui (Columba) presbyter extitit et monachus.

was a privilege which belonged to the whole order or monastery. No one was ever ordained but at a general assembly of the presbyters. [1] In such a council, Aidan, [2] Colman, [3] and Finan, received ordination from the Scottish monks, or presbyters, [4] assembled; and even the jurisdiction of the abbot, according to the evidence of our historical records, extended only over the monastery. [5]

The members of this college were monks and presbyters; [6] and those who, among the Greeks, were called presbyters, were known among the European Christians by the name of seniors. [7] It was the peculiar privilege of this class of men, to render sacred the elements in the Eucharist. [8] Bread and wine could not be consecrated as emblems of the body and blood of Christ, unless by the prayers of presbyters, [9] a right which never belonged to the deacons. This order of men was also distinguished from the monks, although they were most commonly chosen from that body, because they were priests, and enjoyed superior privileges. The latter acted as catechists, while they directed the studies of youth, brought about the conversion of infidels, and bred up some of them, at least, in the regular discipline of the monastic institution. But it was the province of the sacerdotal orders alone, to dispense the ordinance of baptism, to the proselytes of the church. [10] The former, who corresponded nearly with the

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[1] Bed. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 5. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. c. 25. [4] Ibid.

[5] Atque ei (abbas) debent esse subditi omnes Scottorum episcopi, propterea quod Columbanus fuerat abbas, non episcopus. Chron. Saxon. vers. Gibson, p. 21; Bed. lib. iii. c. 4. [6] Bed. lib. iii. c. 5, 3.

[7] Ii qui a Græcis presbyteri, a nobis seniores dicuntur. Pamelius, the commentator of Tertullian, p. 69; vid. etiam Cyprian. Opera, Epist. 75, § 3, where senior is thought by Pamelius to have been inserted in the translation from Greek, for presbyter. Pamel. Annot. ibid. p. 243.

[8] St Hilary. Vid. Bingham, Antiq. 267.

[9] Hieronymus, Epist. 85, ad Evagr.

[10] Credentibus gratiam baptismi, quicumque sacerdotali erant gradu præditi,

deacons, seem to have been mere teachers, belonging to the monastery, and formed the first scale, in the few gradations of the ancient Scottish church. [1]

The monks were at first solitary beings, who retired from the bustle of the world into deserts. They took up their abode in dens and clefts of the rock, [2] on account of the scorching heat, in eastern countries, where the order originated. [3] But they were in the fourth century formed into regular bodies, and lived according to certain acknowledged rules. [4] This gloomy institution soon found its way into the western nations of Europe, [5] and was spread over almost every kingdom. Those who were extravagant for their fanaticism, spent their lives in perfect solitude, among dens and caves, and wild beasts, [6] under the name of hermits. But the Cœnobites, or monastic orders, lived in large communities, guided by the direction of an abbot, under which may be included the monastic institutions of Scotland. They led abstemious lives; and the fame of their sanctity became such, that they were ranked among the supporters of the Christian community, in the fourth and fifth centuries. [7] Presbyters, [8] as well as

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ministrare. Imbuebantur præceptoribus Scottis parvuli Anglorum, una cum majoribus, studiis et observatione disciplinæ regularis. Nam monachi erant maxime. Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. 3; vid. Dr Jamieson.

[1] Monachus ipse episcopus Aidan, utpote de insula, quæ vocatur Hii, destinatus. Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 3. For even presbyters, and those Scottish ecclesiastics, who were denominated bishops, when they passed over into England, were monks.

[2] Vid. Jos. Simon Asseman, Biblioth. Oriental.; Clement. Vatican. tom. iii. part ii. p. 48. [3] Hierom. vit. Paul.

[4] Acta Sanctorum, tom. ii. Jamiar add. 17, p. 107.

[5] Sulpitius Severus, Dial. I. De vita Martini, p. 65, edit. Veron.

[6] Dial. ii. c. 8. p. 112; Dial. ii. c. 15, p. 144, 155. Consultate Apollonii et Zachæi, published by Daclerius Spicileg. tom. i. lib. iii. c. 3, p. 35.

[7] Epiphanius, Exposit. Fidei, tom. i. app. 1094; Mabilon, tom. ii. p. 115. Posthumous works.

[8] Sulpitius Severus de vita Martini, c. 10, p. 320, Dial. i. c. 21, p. 420.

bishops,[1] were frequently chosen out of this body, not only in various provinces of Europe, but also in Iona.[2] The Scots are said to have had presbyters, and monks, before the time of Palladius, who lived according to the rites and customs of the primitive church.[3] To Pelagius they were probably indebted for this pure form of church government, which he laboured hard to establish, together with the tenets of the sect, of which he seems to have been the founder. Various rules were laid down for the cœnobitic institutions in general, by Fructuosus, Isidore, Johannes Gerundinensis, and Columba;[4] but the rule of Hyona was very different from most of these monastic formulas, as will afterwards appear. The members of this peculiar sect, however much they may have been extolled for their piety and virtuous lives, seem, at an early period, to have forfeited this character so decidedly, that the licentiousness of monks became proverbial, even in the fifth century.[5] But while the profligacy of some of these continental monks, threw a stigma upon the whole order, those of Scotland seem not to have degenerated so much. On the contrary, they are characterized for their charity, their contempt of worldly honour, and preferment, even by their enemies,[6] and are said to have been diligent in the works of piety and virtue.[7]

This profligacy and licentiousness, which is observable from the fifth to the seventh century in the other monasteries of Europe, is said, by the most eminent writers, to have proceeded from the devotion, which the monks paid to the Roman pontiff, who protected them from the rapa-

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[1] J. Godofred ad Codicem Theodosianum; tom. vi. part i. p. 76, 106, edit. Ritterianæ.

[2] Vid. supra.

[3] Brev. Abredon. in Juliæ, fol. 24, 25; Scotichron. lib. iii. c. 8.

[4] Luce Holstenii, Codex Regular. tom. ii. p. 225.

[5] Sul. Sever. Dial. i. c. 8. p. 399.

[6] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 5.

[7] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 4.

city of the bishops. The natural tendency of man to bow before rank and fortune, the cringing nature of the sycophant, and the profound admiration with which the monks always spoke of the Roman pontiff, to the ignorant multitude, over whom they had a great ascendancy, [1] no doubt tended to loosen those bonds of moral obligation, which man ought to preserve with peculiar care. The patriarchs claimed no authority over this order of men, probably because they were virtually included among the laity. But as such they were under the protection and jurisdiction of the bishops; [2] while these supreme ecclesiastics themselves were subject to the Abbot of Hyona. [3] The monastic institutions in general, and the monks of England, [4] submitted to the Roman pontiff, and even sought their protection from those avaricious bishops, who augmented their treasures, at the expense of their labours. [5] But the Scottish monks disavowed the authority of the Pope of Rome, in the seventh and eighth centuries; and it does not appear that it was properly acknowledged, even in the ninth. Their distance from the seat of the Roman hierarchy; the oriental education which the first propagators of Christianity in this country received; the simplicity of their church government, and the advancement which our ancestors had made in almost every literary pursuit common to that period; tended to preserve their religious forms of worship, and church polity, from papal innovation. The abbot and monks of Hyona gained so much in the favour and esteem of the people, that, even in their

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[1] Launoii chartam privilegii S. Germani, tom. iii. p. i. p. 282. Wilkin's Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. i. p. 43, 49.

[2] Vid. Jo. Launoii Inquisitiæ in chartam immunitatis B. German. App. tom. iii. part ii. p. 3.

[3] Bed. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 3. [4] Bed. lib. iv.

[5] Launoii Assorti inquisitionis in chartam immunitatis S. Germani, App. tom. iii. part v. p. 50. Murator. Antiq. Italic. tom. ii. p. 944, 949, and Buluzii MS.; tom. ii. p. 159; tom. iv. p. 108.

cloistered retreats, they were at the head of all civil matters.[1] Like their predecessors, the Druids of old, they enjoyed a pre-eminence in the government of the people.[2] But it was not till the ninth century, that the monastic orders in the other parts of Europe attained such influence in civil matters, however much they were at the devotion of the Roman pontiff.[3]

The presbyters of Hyona, and other monasteries, were not confined to monks and abbots in these early times, but were sometimes denominated Seniors. These were approved presbyters, to whose good character all bore testimony;[4] men who were admitted to this honour, not from the influence of wealth or rank, but as their own virtue recommended them.[5] It is evident that the monks, while they continued as such, were never included among the Majores Natu, or the Scottish Elders; for it was by this order of men, that King Oswald of Northumbria was baptized, during his exile among the Scots.[6] The bishops or presbyters, who converted the Saxons, were, in like manner, ordained by these. But although a monk might be admitted into holy orders, it was a privilege which belonged only to an ecclesiastic,[7] to ordain a presbyter. The same distinction was observed in the eastern empire. The seniors, who presided over the church, that is, the senior monks of the monastery, who were presbyters,[8] possessed the power, not only of baptizing,

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[1] Vid. Smith's Life of Columba, and Beda, passim.

[2] Bed. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 3. [3] Vid. Mosheim, Hist. Eccl.

[4] Pamelius, Comment. in Tertullianum, p. 69.

[5] President probati quique seniores honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti. Tertullianus, p. 69.

[6] Bed. lib. iii. c. 3. Majores natu Scottorum, inter quos ex illos ipse baptismatis sacramenta. [7] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 3.

[8] Merite a majoribus, quasi usus ex ipsis amaretur. Alfred. edit. Bedæ, lib. v. c. 14.

but also of the imposition of hands and ordination. [1] Although they are sometimes called the elders or seniors of the monastery, in contradistinction to the junior brethren, [2] they are never designated bishops. The elders sat in council, and managed all church matters; but it does not appear, at the same time, that the other presbyterian brethren, or younger ordained members, were excluded from this monastic meeting. [3] Assemblies of this kind were frequent. Ecclesiastical councils were held annually in the Greek church, where all ordinary affairs were dispatched, and attended by the seniors and bishops. But all matters of importance were referred to a common council, or general assembly. [4]

The Scottish abbot, although he enjoyed considerable authority, and acted as governor among his brethren, the monks and presbyters, possessed not supreme powers. This belonged to the monastery, or the presbyter abbot, the seniors, and the monks. [5]

The instruction of youth was committed, in England, about the end of the seventh, and beginning of the eighth century, to priests. Their houses were academies for the education of clerks and other scholars, who enjoyed the benefit of their instructions, without any remuneration. [6] But along with these lessons, which extended both to theological learning and literature in general, they were also taught experimentally, the benefits arising from bodily labour and daily exercise, [7] and the knowledge of some mechanical arts. [8] The only remuneration which the priests or bi-

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[1] Majores natu. Cyprian Opera, Epist. 75, s. 6.

[2] Corripiebatur quidem sedulo a fratribus ac majoribus loci. Alfred, edit. Bede, lib. v. c. 19.

[3] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 3, 6, 25.

[4] Cyprian Opera, Epist. 74, s. 3.

[5] Beda, Hist. Eccl. c. 3.

[6] Canon of Theodulf, No. 20.

[7] Canon of Edgar, 35.

[8] Excerp. Egbert. 159.

shops, who were also employed in this noble task, [1] derived from the instructions which these clerks received, was the profit arising from their manual labour. [2] The same combination of literary knowledge and bodily labour was enjoined by the presbyters of Caledonia, at a much earlier period. As the clergy of Hyona passed their leisure hours in working at the mechanical arts, even in the seventh century, [3] it is probable that the Scottish missionaries, who converted the greatest part of England to Christianity, introduced soon after the same system of education into that country, at least into the kingdom of Northumbria.

This mode of life, whether it originated in England or Scotland, was known in the former at a very early period. A swarm of monks, issuing from the province of the Angli, united themselves together, after the example of the venerable fathers. They lived with great moderation and harmony, under the canonical rule of an abbot, in the Irish monastery of Muigeo, or Mayo, and subsisted by the labour of their own hands. [4] Although this order bore a striking resemblance to the Benedictine institution, and differed equally from all the other monastic societies, yet they belonged not to that body. Instead of temperance and hard labour, the European monks are, in general, accused of gluttony and voraciousness. [5] Augustin, the supposed founder of the Benedictines, came not with his monks into England till 596, the year previous to the death of St

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[1] Canon 26 of Carnute.

[2] Canon 51 Edgar. [3] Vit. St. Columba.

[4] Egregiam examen continet monachorum, qui de provincia Anglorum, ibidem collecti ad exemplum venerabilium patrum, sub regulo et abbate canonico, proprio labore manum vivunt. Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 4.

[5] Sulpitius Severus, Dial. i. De Vita Martini, p. 65, edit. Veron. c. 8, p. 69, 70; Quin nos edacitatis fatiges.

Columba, when this mode of life was already known in Scotland. Whether this monk was brought up in the same establishment as that of Muigeo, which was a bishopric before Hyona was a religious institution, is even uncertain. But we know that he was not of the Benedictine order, since it was not heard of in Britain or Ireland, long after Columba had laid down a rule for the monastery of Hyona, where the monks devoted a considerable part of their time to bodily labour, and the improvement of the arts.[1] These institutions were the only nurseries of learning to be found in the country. Their discipline was salutary, and their effects beneficial to the interests of society. While they imparted instruction to the ignorant, they gave encouragement to the industrious poor, and enlivened the solitary hour of study, by wholesome exercise. Industry is the parent of many virtues. While man is actively employed, vice shuns his company; for nothing is so favourable to its growth as idleness and ease.

The Culdee establishment, although it possessed many of the peculiarities of the monastic system, can hardly be ranked among these ascetic institutions. The members of this establishment lived under a rule that was drawn up by the abbot, which is still extant.[2] But their main design was to train up labourers for the work of the ministry, whom they ordained and sent abroad to teach the gospel; while the instructions of the other monastic bodies were only preparatory to this end.[3] In the latter, many branches of the arts and sciences were taught;

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[1] Vit. St. Columb.; Bed. Hist. Eccl.

[2] Colgan; vid. Smith's Life of Columba, p. 135; and Ware's Irish Writers, p. 18.

[3] Canon 20 of Theodulf. For an account of those in England, vid. supra.

while the former embraced all the learning, both human and divine, which was at that time known, either in the eastern or western empire.

The Culdees were distinguished by great simplicity of manners. Although, as members of the same institution, they enjoyed many things in common, like the Christians in the primitive ages, yet their wives and children and nearest relations divided their property according to the allodial notions of those times, and laid claim even to the offerings, which had been made at the altar. [1] It does not appear that the Scottish abbots succeeded to their office by hereditary right, among the ancient Culdees, although this afterwards took place. [2] But so strictly did they follow this mode of succession, in the bishopric of Armagh in Ireland, and such was the tenacity with which they adhered to their forms, that fifteen generations of the same tribe and family filled the episcopate. [3] The Culdees were not at first prevented from living with their wives and families. But the celibacy of the clergy, that forbidden system, which was fraught with so much evil to the church, permitted them not afterwards, to keep their wives in their own houses. [4] The most intimate connection in society was thus broken asunder; and all the endearing ties and kind offices which are dependent upon this union, were dissolved.

The moral character of the Scottish presbyters and monks ranked high among the monastic orders. They led pure and virtuous lives, [5] and were long untainted

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[1] Excerpt. Reg. St. Andr.; Innes, Append. [2] Reg. St. Andr.

[3] Bernard, Vit. Malach. c. 7.

[4] Postquam Keledei effecti sunt, non licet iis habere uxores suas, in domibus suis. Excerpt. Reg. St. Andr.

[4] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 4.

with the errors and vices, which prevailed in the church of Rome.[1] The members of this religious sect were distinguished for sobriety, charity, and a contempt of worldly grandeur. They sought not after secular honours, nor did they regard the things of time. The gifts which were conferred upon them by kings, and the wealthy barons of the nation, were distributed with the greatest cheerfulness to the poor who came in their way; and they seem only to have lived for the good of others.[2]

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[1] Smith's Life of Columb. p. 114. [2] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 5.

CHAP. IV.

Superstitions in England.—Learning on the Continent.—The conversion of the Germans,—Franks,—Swiss, by Scotsmen.—Their lives and writings.

MANY superstitions had about this time crept into the church of England.[1] Stories of dreams, visions, and miracles were industriously propagated by the clergy, and as firmly believed by the laity.[2] A journey to Rome was the direct road to heaven; hard watching and bodily torments were thought necessary to save the soul;[3] and the most impious wretch, no sooner put on the habit of a monk, than the sins of his former life were believed to vanish away.[4] The sainted nuns during the eighth century, who had renounced all worldly vanity, and given themselves up to meditation and prayer, went also on pilgrimages to Rome, and not unfrequently became common prostitutes, in the cities of France and Italy.[5]

The ignorance and darkness which reigned at this time on the Continent is remarkable, considering the comparative eminence, in point of knowledge, which the eastern empire displayed, especially in the time of Palladius. The scanty remains of learning and philosophy were only now to be found, in the cloistered retreats of monks among the Latins. Even there they were unacquainted

[1] A. D. 690, or 700. [2] Beda, passim. [3] Beda.
[4] Theod. Capit. Labb. Concil. tom. vi. coll. 1875.
[5] Spel. Concil. tom. i. p. 337; Boniface Letter.

with the true nature of the arts, and the important ends which they were calculated to serve. But when we consider, that ecclesiastics in the sixth century despised the manners of civilized life, accounted learning pernicious to the progress of piety,[1] and held the elegant and liberal arts, together with the Latin philosophy, unless the quibbling Dialectics of Aristotle, in the same disrespect,[2] such a state of ignorance need not excite our surprise. The state of learning among the Greeks was not less deplorable. By a particular edict of the Emperor Justinian, it was prohibited from being taught at Athens;[3] and need we be astonished, that, in the beginning of the seventh century, schools began to decline, and in many places were fallen into ruin? The modern Platonists, who were still unconverted to the Christian religion, fled to Persia from Rome;[4] and the subtilties of Aristotle's logic were now exchanged for Plato, which the Greeks abandoned to some cloistered monks.[5] Such was the state of religion and scientific learning on the Continent, when many eminent men emigrated from Scotland, to dispel this cloud of ignorance, which had overspread the western world.

St Triobellin, a Scotsman,[6] had established some schools of learning and monasteries, in Germany and France, in 495.[7] Sedulius, whom we have already noticed as a poet, was not satisfied with the education which he received in Scotland.[8] He went to France and Italy for his

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[1] Gabriel Liron. Singularitat. Histor. et Liter. tom. i. p. 166.

[2] See Boethius de Consolatione, who was the only Latin philosopher of the age.

[3] Johannes Malela, Hist. Chron. p. 2, 187, edit. Oxon.

[4] Agathias, de Rebus Justiniani, lib. ii. p. 42, edit. Venet. tom. ii.; Corpor. Byzante.

[5] Assemanii Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. i. p. 498.

[6] Vid. Demp. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. p. 280.

[7] Bal. cen. 14; Str. Brit. No. 10; Camerarius, Antiq. Lect. tom. v.

[8] Trithemius, de Script. Eccl.

farther improvement, where he applied himself particularly to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and was ordained a presbyter,[1] and afterwards a bishop.[2] Upon his departure from France, he passed over into Achaia. Rhetoric was at this time a favourite study; and he not only became a famous rhetorician,[3] and a poet of some consideration,[4] but also applied himself successfully to the study of philosophy.[5] This author, besides the scriptural poems, which he composed in Iambic verse, is also said to have written what he calls his Paschal works, which were published, along with his other productions, by Tursius Rufus Austerius, a Roman Consul.[6] Many of the German nations were yet unconverted, and lived in the idolatrous practices of their ancestors, worshipping the stars of heaven. Some of the petty tribes of France were brought up in the same ignorance; but these and other good men overturned the fanes of the heathen gods, and in their places planted the standard of the Christian faith, and the temples of her religion.

Columbanus, a Scotsman,[7] with twelve monks who accompanied him, extirpated the superstition of Gaul, where idolatry had taken deep root. There he founded the Abbey of Luxevile, near Basconon, where he presided about twenty years, with much credit to himself.[8] He also preached the Word to the Boii, the Franks, and

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[1] Isidor. Hispal. c. vii.; Cat. Script. Eccl.

[2] Sigebert, de Illust. Script. c. vi.

[3] Sedul. Epist. ad Maced. Presbyt. Nuncupatoria.

[4] Vid. M. du Pin, Hist. Eccl. vol. iv. [5] Annot. in Opera Sedul.

[6] A. D. 494. Sirmond. Prodierunt Seduli Opera, 1502, 154, et in App. Bignæano, p. 658, and 911, Edinb. 1701, 8vo, quæ accurata editio habetur.

[7] Vid. Opera Columb. et Epist. Laurent. ad Scotos.

[8] Murator Antiq. tom. iii. p. 826; vid. Leland and Mackenzie's Lives, and Bale, Pits de Script. Brit.

other German nations,[1] spent some years in Switzerland, labouring to convert the inhabitants to Christianity, and at last retired to Lombardy, and founded the Abbey of Bobio, where he died.[2] Columbanus had his education at Hyona, under Convellanus;[3] and from a book that he wrote, which is now lost, in order to justify the Scottish manner of keeping Easter, it is evident that mathematics, as well as many other branches of knowledge, were not altogether neglected in Scotland. Mathematics and astronomy were both taught in the schools of learning among the Scots at this time; and some, indeed, had made considerable progress in these abstruse sciences. In this treatise Columbanus gave an historical detail of the controversy regarding the mode of observing Easter, from its first rise to his own time, together with an account of all the different paschals, cycles, and other methods that had been taken, for solving the difficulties attending the time of keeping this festival. From this learned production, and several letters written by Pope Gregory, in vindication of himself and the Scottish nation,[4] it appears to what eminence they had attained in the knowledge of these sciences.

Religious controversy had hitherto subsided somewhat in the nation, but it soon began again to agitate the church. The tenets of Arius had found their way into Scotland; and in Columbanus the abettors of this sectarian found an able opponent. In his judicious publication against Arianism he shews, that the Platonic philosophy, which tended to involve in darkness some of the clearest truths of Christianity, was by the Scots kept

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[1] Mabillon, Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened. tom. ii. p. 560; tom. iii. c. 27, 339, 500. [2] A. D. 615, Murat. Antiq. tom. iii. p. 826, vid. sup.

[3] Vid. Leslæ de Gest. Scot. p. 144.

[4] Vid. M. du Pin, Nov. Bib. des Aut. Eccl. vol. vi. p. 6.

within the bounds of reason. In those parts where it differed from positive revelation, it was laid aside altogether.[1] The opinions of Plato regarding the Deity bore a singular resemblance to the scriptural notion of a Trinity. The Almighty was represented, as the cause of all things. Under this supreme God there was an inferior one, who was denominated the Word, or director of all things, present and to come, and the creator of the universe. In subordination to him, there was a third deity, the soul of the world. These Eons were all descended in a direct line from each other; the first being the parent of the second, and the progenitor, though not the immediate father of the third. Justin Martyr[2] was led from thence to entertain the belief, that the office of Jesus Christ was in part understood by Socrates; for "the "Word," which foretold things to come by the prophets, was known to the ancients; and, upon this principle, Plato may have had some idea of a trinity.[3] When Christians affirm that God created this world in wisdom, by his word and almighty power, they say no more than what the heathen said before them. These self-taught philosophers affirmed, that he made the world by his word;[4] and, according to the reasoning of Plato, the Word, which was the Son, by whom all things were called out of nothing, corresponded to the second person of the Trinity.[5] It appears, then, that the opinions of Pla-

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[1] The writings of Columbanus on Arianism are now lost, together with a Commentary on the Psalms; but his rule for the monks of his monastery is still extant, a small tract, of eight principal vices, which were collected by Patricius Hymingius, Hibernus, and published at Lovanii, 1667, fol. Bib. tom. xii.

[2] Justin Martyr, tom. x.; Bib. Univers. p. 404.

[3] Tertullian. de Col. c. 21.

[4] Λογος. Vid. Tertullian. c. 21.

[5] Clemens of Alexandria, Strom. lib. v. p. 598.

to were not materially different from those which we find in the Gospel,[1] if we except the plurality of gods, which he afterwards introduced.[2] But if the notions which he entertained on the nature of the Deity be correctly quoted by these ancient fathers of the church, the doctrines of Plato, as they are generally understood, were not the sentiments of this heathen philosopher. He speaks of a "Supreme God above all gods, and also of a second being, "distinguishing these two essences. The perfection of the "one was the same as that of the other; and the essence of "the second derived its existence from the first. This "being was the author and director of all things, since he "is above all things; and the second person was only ac- "counted the creator of the universe, who puts in execution "the fiat or will of the first."[3] "The third being to which "he alludes, was the Holy Spirit.[4] It appears, then, that "there is but one God, who overrules the destinies of "the universe, and puts all things in order, namely, the "Word, which is God. He who is the father of all "things, must, in justice, be acknowledged to be the fa- "ther of his own word; and in all this Plato expressed "himself wisely."[5]

Some of the Scottish champions, who took the field against the Arian heretics, rejected the divinity of Christ, like the authors of the Platonic doctrine. They defended the Nestorian heresy, or the controversy of the three chapters, against the See of Rome, a doctrine which expressly says, that the Virgin Mary ought to be called the Mother of God. These opinions, which were tolerated in the Scottish church, and sometimes propagated by the clergy, evince the state of theological learning among

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[1] Justin Martyr, p. 51, ejus ed. de Ver. Relig.
[2] Constantin. Orat. c. 9. [3] Ibid. [4] Clemens Strom. l. v. p. 598.
[5] Constantin. Orat. c. 9, vid. M'Kenzie's Lives, and Dempst. vit. Scotor.

the ancient Scots, where many of its deadly enemies had their education.

The Germans still continued to enjoy the superior instruction of the Scots. They were inthralled in ignorance and superstition, and falling into barbarism every day; and had not our ancestors, in some measure, dispelled this gloom by their instructions, the Christian religion must have given way at last to superstition and idolatry. St Cataldus, a native either of Ergadia,[1] or of the island of Hyona, left his paternal abode on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, from whence he went to Italy, where he was ordained bishop of Tarentum.[2] He succeeded at length to a professorship at Geneva, an office to which he was called on account of his learning;[3] and there became the author of a book upon divine mysteries.

The Abbot who, at this period, presided over the college of Hyona, was Congellus or Convellanus. Under this ecclesiastic, who seems to have been the preceptor of several distinguished Scotchmen, St Giles, a cotemporary, had his education about the time that Buithan, the disciple of Columba, flourished.[4] In imitation of our Saviour, and the founder of this monastic institution, it was then usual for the missionary, to take along with him twelve monks. Among this number was Giles, who accompanied his countryman Columbanus. The labours of this Presbyter, after he

A. D. 570.

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[1] Bartholom. Moron. vit. St. Catal. 1614, edit. Romæ.

[2] Raphael Maffæus Volateranus. Comment. Urban. lib. iii.; Bartholm. Moron. Vit. Catal. 1614; Vit. Cataldi in MS. Liber Ambrosian. Milan. Vid. Dempst. H. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. iii. p. 163.

[3] Alexand. ab. Alexand. Genial. Dier. lib. iii. c. 15.

[4] Colgan Triad. Thaumaturg. App. v. s. 4.

left the monastery of Luxevile, where Columbanus lived, were principally confined to Switzerland, where he converted several thousand people to the Christian religion. So tenacious was he of the presbyterian form of church government, and such the disinterested sentiments of his mind, that he refused the bishoprick of Constance, which he procured for one of his scholars, John. [1] Although the Culdee establishment made no progress, in any other country, besides Scotland, Caledonia, and Ireland, yet the inhabitants of Switzerland were so struck with its simplicity, and the strictly moral lives of the Culdees, that the successors of Giles in the monastery were made princes of the empire, and became very considerable for their rank and authority. [2]

But the most distinguished of Convellanus's scholars was Jonas, a cotemporary of St Giles, who travelled through France, Switzerland, and Italy, with Columbanus, and became an abbot of a monastery. [3] He is said to have been a virtuous and good man; and the works which he left behind him bear testimony to the proficiency which he made in theological and other learning. This ecclesiastic, among other qualifications, was distinguished in the field of biography. He wrote the lives of Columbanus, [4] Eustatius, [5] Attola, abbot of Bobio, [6] Ber-

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[1] Sermo Constantiæ in temp. St. Stephani in consecrat. Johan. Episc. Constant. habitus apud Canis. Antiq. Lection. tom. i. p. 896.

[2] Cave, Hist. Liter. He was author of some epistles on the choice of a bishop; apud Usser. Epist. Hibern. Sylog. p. 23; apud Canis, tom. v. p. 526; a salutary advice to a presbyter, edita a Caspare Barthio. Francof. 8vo, 1626. Several churches were erected to the memory of St Giles, among which was the cathedral of Edinburgh; and his life was written by Wilafrid Strabo, a monk of the ninth century; Vit. St. Gal. apud Sur. die 16th October; St. Jonas, in Vit. St. Columb.; Gul. Cave, Hist. Lit.; M'Kenzie's Lives.

[3] Gerard Johan. Vossius, de Hist. Lat. lib. ii. p. 255.

[4] Apud Mabillon, Sec. Bened. tom. ii. p. 5. [5] Ibid. p. 115.

[6] Apud Surium, 10 Martii.

tulfus, his successor,[1] and John Reomaen;[2] and likewise those of St Ulfrannus[3] and St Fara.[4] But, like all other biographical writers of the dark ages, he was tainted with the superstition of the times, and rather credulous in miracles.[5] St Gal, his scholar, who belonged to the same country,[6] made known the gospel to the Helvetii and the Suevi. St Disboid, his countryman,[7] erected a monastery at Mount Disboid[8] in Germany, and received great encomiums for his piety and learning. Several churches were, in Scotland, consecrated to the memory of St Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, who was brought up in the monastery of Melrose, and became famous for his "exhortations to the brothers," and his monastic rules.[9] Many Scotchmen at this time frequented the continental nations. Although they were in general characterized for the liberality of their sentiments, their acquirements in literature, the love of adventure, and a strict adherence to the principles of the Scottish church, several of them became instrumental in promoting the interest of the papal see. Among these was St Chilian, a violent supporter of the rites of the Romish church. He went over to Germany with some presbyters and monks,[10] and was distinguished for his "Goz-

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[1] Apud Mabillon, Sec. Bened. tom. ii. p. 160.

[2] Edita est a Roverio cum notis, Paris, 1637, in Hist. Abb. Reomanensium. [3] Apud Surdius, 4 Martii.

[4] Apud Mabillon, Sec. Bened. ii. p. 439. Vid. Dempst. and Mackenzie.

[5] Jonas, Vit. St. Columb. c. xiii. Apud Dempst.

[6] Gerard, J. Vossius, de Hist. Lat. lib. ii. p. 255; Wilafrid Strabo, Vit. St. Galli in Mabillon, Actis Sanct. Ord. Bened. tom. ii. p. 228; Canisii Lection. Antiq. tom. iii. p. 171.

[7] Johan. Trithem. lib. iii. de Viris Illust. Ord. St. Bened.

[8] Arnold Wion, lib. ii.; Lig. Vit. c. 58. [9] Bed. lib. iv.

[10] Dempoch. de Aris. Sacr. in Cot. Epis. Herbip.

"bertum," regarding the divorce of a brother's wife, and a work against Arianism. But that which was of most essential importance to the literary world, and which received perhaps little attention, in these times of ignorant superstition, was a book which he wrote upon heathen idolatry. [1]

Our ancestors seem to have been impressed with the belief, that man was not born to be a social, but a solitary being. Some of them retired from the converse of men, to nourish that sullen spirit of melancholy and fanaticism, which seems at this time to have taken possession of the most contemplative minds. In his younger years, St Florentius applied himself to the belles lettres, philosophy, and theology; but leaving his own native country Scotland, [2] he went over to Germany, where he built for himself a cell, on the banks of the river Hazel. Being afterwards induced to leave this hermitage, he was promoted to the see of Strasburgh, which he held for twelve years, and gave many instances of his learning and integrity, as well in the social, as the solitary sphere of life. Some time before his death, which happened in 675, he built a monastery at the river Bruschius, in Asace, for the use of his countrymen. The same feeling which dictated this benevolent purpose, led him to appoint as monks in this religious seminary, Argobastus, Theodosius, and Hidolphus, who had accompanied him from Scotland. [3] These, with many other Scotchmen, travelled through Italy, Germany, and other nations, propagated the knowledge of truth, erected churches, and

[1] Passirini, the Jesuit, in Apparat.

[2] Vit. St. Florent. apud Sur. et Haræum, p. 833.

[3] This prelate was distinguished in Germany for his learning; and there is still extant a book in MSS., entitled, Ordinatio suæ Ecclesiæ, by St Florentius.

formed religious and monastic establishments wherever they went. They were zealous in the pursuits of literature, and overlooked not the interests of religion; and it is for this reason, that so many convents for the Scots and Irish were found among the Germans in modern times.

CHAP. V.

Hyona.—Its learning.—Missions to Northumbria and England.—State of literature at home.—In England.—Aidan.—Arts and sciences.—Finnan.—Conversion of Mercia.—Corruptions.—Causes.—Colman.—Tuda.—Western Isles.—Adamnan.—Pasch or Easter.—Papal innovations.—State of literature among the Culdees.—Flight of science to Hyona.

FERGUAN, surnamed Britannicus, was now raised to the dignity of presbyter and abbot of Hyona. His learning was considerable, and his piety sincere;[1] and although, during his time, learning had to struggle with many difficulties, it nevertheless seems to have declined little.[2] Cumin, the pupil of Columba-

A. D. 662.

[1] He died, 2d March 622; Colgan, Triad. Thaumaturg. App. v. s. 4.

[2] A list of the abbots of Hyona:
Baithan, the son of Brendan, a disciple of Columba, succeeded him as abbot, and died 600.
Lafran, son of Ferudach, died 601.
Ferguan Britannicus, a bishop and abbot of Hy, 622.
Segenius, 651.
Segenius, son of Fiacre, 651.
Suibne, son of Cuithrie, 654.
Cumineus, 658.
Feilbei, 672.
Adamnanus, the son of Ronan, 703.
Conain, son of Falbi, 708.
Ceudi, bishop and abbot of Hy. Ulster Annal. Coide Episcopus, Iæpausat, 711.

nus,[1] was the next abbot of Hyona, who distinguished himself for learning; and although this famous seminary did not send out so many teachers to Germany, Switzerland, and the other continental nations, as it had formerly done, it was not less diligent in training up men to the arts and sciences. Some of the greatest ornaments of the Scottish nation lived at this period. Among these were Patricius, Cheranus, Columbanus, and Congal, together with several other learned fathers, who were patterns of life and morals;—to whose industry and learning, the Scottish nation, in the eighth and ninth centuries, owed its superior attainments in knowledge of every kind.[2] But, although they were sensible of the advantages to be derived from human learning, they knew that it could only

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Dorbonei, surnamed Conei, 713.
Dunchad, 616–17.
Foelocho, 720. Faolon MacDoirchene, abbas Iæ, dormit 723. Ulster Annal.
Kilian, 725. Cillinus largus sic in principatum Iæ successit, 723. Ulster Annal.
Kilian, surnamed Droich, 747.
Feibli, 757.
Sleibini, 762. Slevene, abbas Iæ, 753. Ulster Annal.
Suibnie, 767.
Muredach, son of Hungal, 777.
Bressaliei-Bresal MacSegeni, abb. Aoi, 800. Ulster Annal.
Conmalc, the abbot, a learned writer, 797.
Rellach, son of Congal, 810. Kellac MacCongail, abbot of Hy, 814. Colgan, Triad. Thaumat.
Diarmit-Diarmid, abbot of Hæ, 828. Ulster Annal.
Blathmac, the son of Flan, 813. Vid. Colgan, Triad. Thaumaturg. App. v. s. 4.

[1] Jonas, Vit. Columb. c. 16. A. D. 657.

[2] Patricius, Cheranus, Scotorum gloria gentis, atque Columbanus, Congallus, Adamnanus, atque præclari patres, morum vitæque magistri, hic pietas precibus horum nos adjuvet omnes. Alcuin, Bib. Bertin. Poem. 246.

be valued by the effects which it had in improving the condition of mankind. Piety was accordingly esteemed by them as infinitely more valuable,[1] an opinion which probably gave rise to many of the superstitious observances, which at this period obscured the lustre of the Scottish church. The learning of the Scots had been hitherto confined to the clerical orders and professed monks; but some of the royal family, and other chiefs, alive to its utility, now submitted to the instruction of these masters, and made some progress in the knowledge of the times.

It appears, that the ancient Scots duly appreciated the advantages which they possessed over their neighbours of the south, from the earliest history of their literature, by sending over to Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Gaul, so many qualified teachers. They enjoyed the benefits arising both from the Roman learning, which was revived in this country at several successive times; and the superior advantages of the Alexandrian literature, which was less contaminated. This observation may, in some measure, account for the superior eminence, which Hyona attained over every other institution of the same kind in Europe, during the middle ages. The English nation was, indeed, distinguished by its attainments in literature; and, in the eighth century, some of the clergy, particularly Bede, were admired over all Europe as prodigies of learning.[2] But they shone like uncertain stars, in the gloom of night, which served but to shew more clearly the darkness that surrounded them.

[1] Alcuin Jonas, Vit. Eustas, Vit. Colum. Attal, &c.; Adamn. Vit. Columb. Vid. supra.

[2] Muratori, Antiq. tom. iii. col. 618; Bruckeri, Hist. Philos. tom. iii. p. 574.

The monastery of Hy was so famous at this time, for religious and scientific literature, that Oswald king of Bernicia in England, sent for Aidan to Hyona.[1] This illustrious prince, the son of Edelfrid, king of Northumberland, who with many other noble youths had been in a state of exile among the Scots and Picts, were there instructed in the doctrines of the Christian religion, and received the presbyterian form of baptism.[2] It was probably in consequence of this, that Christian teachers were sent over from that country. The interests of virtue and religion were much advanced by this eminent teacher. The church had been agitated by the violence of the clergy, principally in regard to the forms of worship; but Aidan, a man of the greatest meekness, piety, and moderation, more zealous about the end than the means,[3] endeavoured to evidence his faith, by his piety towards God, and his love to men. These unaffected manners raised him so much, even in the esteem of those who differed from him in sentiment, that he was held in veneration, not only by persons of inferior rank, but even by the bishops themselves.[4] The monks who accompanied Aidan instructed the youth in all the branches of learning, and built monasteries and churches, throughout the country.[5] So rapid was the progress, which Christianity made among these idolaters, that in seven days he himself, with King Oswald for his interpreter, baptized fifteen thousand persons.[6] Aidan was appointed the first bishop of Lindisfarne, or the Holy Island, where, by means of his influence, the bishop's see of York had at that time been transferred; and to the exertions of this individual, and the

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[1] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 3.
[2] Beda, lib. iii. c. 3.
[3] Ibid. c. 3.
[4] Beda, lib. iii. 1.
[5] Bed. lib. iii. c. 25.
[6] Bed. lib. iii.

Scottish monks; the kingdom of Northumbria, owed, in a great measure, its conversion to the Christian faith, and its renown in literature. When churches and monasteries had been planted in every quarter of the country, the people assembled every Sunday to hear the instructions of their pastors, and listened with pleasure. [1] Their mode of living was so far removed from the indolence prevalent in the eighth century, that whether clergy or laity, all the associates of this presbyter were regular in giving themselves up to prayer and meditation, the study of psalmody, or the perusal of the Holy Scriptures. [2]

The monks, who received their ordination from the presbyters of Hyona, and became bishops in England, adhered not with the greatest strictness to the presbyterian mode of government, in which they had hitherto been brought up. They were indeed usually called bishops, because they had the jurisdiction over the church, which grew and increased under their fatherly care; but they enjoyed not their real authority. [3] They were, however, indefatigable in the cause of learning and religion. As it was their employment, it seems to have been their chief delight; and their zeal, which was kept alive by the encourage-

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[1] Bed. lib. iii. c. 36. The lands and privileges which belonged to this religious establishment, Lindisfarne, and the monasteries under its jurisdiction, comprehended a great part of Lothian and Roxburgh, before the middle of the eighth century; the monastery of St Balther, at Tyningham, and its lands, with the country extending from Lammermoor to Eskmouth; the monastery of Abercorn, with all its lands west of Edinburgh, a grant of the Northumbrian Coolwolf, 729–738; Jedworth, south of Tweed, a donation of Bishop Ecgredius, Simon of Durham, Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 698; Leland, Col. vol. iii. p. 181; together with the lands lying between the Loder and the Ader; Liber Antiq. vid. Leland, Collectanea, vol. ii. p. 366; and from the united labours of the inhabitants of these parts, it derived its subsistence.

[2] Bed. lib. iii. c. 5.

[3] It is said of other bishops, Majore auctoritate cœptum opus explens. Bed. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 22.

ment held out by Oswald, king of Northumbria, to the Scots, among whom he had been initiated into the Christian doctrine,[1] was directed to the interests of learning, and the conversion of the people. The Picts, who lived upon the Tweed, were the next objects of their care; for they appear yet to have been unconverted, ignorant of a Saviour, and the consoling doctrines of the gospel.[2] Aidan, who was endowed with singular discretion, the guardian of many virtues, had already shewed his zeal in his mission to the Northumbrians.[3] He sent to their conversion, Eata, who brought them over to the Christian religion, and laid the foundation of that famous institution, the monastery of old Meilrose.[4]

Eata was one of the twelve disciples, who accompanied Aidan on his mission to Northumbria, while he was yet a boy. Under this eminent scholar, he received his education among the Angles,[5] and was the first abbot of Meilrose. This institution is celebrated in the annals of these times.[6] It was a famous nursery of learning and religious men, who were filled with zeal for propagating the Christian religion, particularly among their neighbours, the unconverted Saxons.[7] Boisil, who, in the saintly records of the eighth century, is said to have been of a prophetic spirit, and distinguished for his virtues, was elected abbot upon the death of Eata. He was succeeded by the celebrated St Cuthbert,[8] who lived many years in this abbey, by no means contemptible for his learning. But being

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[1] Bed. ibid. c. 3.

[2] Beda, lib. iii. [3] Bed. lib. iii. c. 5. [4] Bed. ibid. c. 26.

[4] Esset idem Eata unus de duodecim pueris Aidani, quos primo episcopatus sui tempore de natione Anglorum erudiendos in Christo accepit. Bed. l. iii. c. 26. [6] Nennius, p. 5.

[7] Milne, Descrip. Melrose, p. 6. [8] Bed. lib. iv. c. 27.

afterwards united to Lindisfarne he left it, and there became bishop. His successor Ædilwold, or Ethelwald, was chosen abbot in 696, [1] and, like Cuthbert, was afterwards called to the bishoprick of Lindisfarne, which he accepted. [2]

Some of the most famous of the English clergy, who were admired over Europe for their extensive learning, [3] had their education under Scottish monks and presbyters. Macdulf, a learned Scot, was the first who instituted a monastery at Malmesbury, [4] which afterwards became famous under the management of Aldhelm, [5] "a man "of universal erudition." [6] This Briton, who had acquired much philosophical and religious knowledge, [7] which he displayed to the world in several treatises on various subjects, was the first Englishman who wrote in the Latin language. [8] He received his education in the school of Macdulf, although he afterwards went to France and Italy for his farther improvement; [9] and it was to this accomplished scholar, who was a near relative of Ina, king of the West Saxons, that Prince Arcivil, a son of the king of Scotland, sent the numerous pieces which he wrote, for his inspection, in order that he might give them the last polish of his masterly hand. [10] The Scottish clergy were indeed highly commended at this period for their piety and learning, their diligence in the ministerial functions, and in discharging the duties of a teacher. But they were more particularly admired for their contempt of riches and worldly preferment. [11] We must not however forget,

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[1] Chron. Melrose, p. 135.
[2] Bed. l. v. c. 62.
[3] Brukeri, Hist. Philosop. t. iii. p. 574; Muratori, Antiq. tom. iii. col. 608.
[4] Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 23.
[5] Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 4.
[6] Bed. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 18.
[7] Ibid.
Cave, Hist. Lit. Secul. 7, A. D. 680.
[8] Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 23.
Anglia Sacra, Ibid.
[9] Bed. l. iii. c. 26.

that we are tracing the history of the middle ages, when learning of every kind was in its infancy. The Scots, although they were highly commended, in the annals of literature, could not stand a comparison with their descendants in modern times. Laurentius, who succeeded Austin, was the first missionary belonging to the Romish see that arrived in Britain, where he became Archbishop of Canterbury.[1] But the efforts which he made to bring over the Scottish nation to the usages of the church of Rome, in regard to the observance of Easter, and the pastoral letters which he wrote to that people, were without success.[2] They adhered still to their old usages, and withstood the innovations of the Romish church. They were more eager in the pursuits of learning, and in establishing schools for the propagation of the Gospel, as it is contained in the sacred writings, than in admitting any change regarding their form of church government. Segenius, the abbot of Hy, founded about the same time the church of Rechran, and appointed a pastor for the instruction of the people.[3] He had been raised to this high office upon the death of Segenius I, on account of his learning and piety,[4] and, like his predecessor, continued to withstand the innovations of the church of Rome.

The Scottish clergy not only sent abroad labourers to convert the heathen, but also erected at home new colleges or abbeys,[5] with those gifts and donations, upon which in a great measure, they depended for their subsistence. There were several abbots connected with the Scottish church, besides the Primate of Hyona.[6] Ernian, Lais-

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[1] Bed. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 27. [2] Bed. lib. ii. c. 4.

[3] Olii Segenii Abbatis Iæ filii Tiachra.

[4] Colgan, Triad. Thaumat.; he died 12th August 651. Saran is enumerated among the Scottish abbots of this century, Epist. Laurentii ad Scotos.

[5] Abbatiæ fundari donationibus. [6] Vid. Primord, t. 38, p. 938, 969, 702.

tran, Cromanus, and Scellan, were eminent presbyters, who adhered to the primitive discipline of the church, in the beginning of the seventh century. The simplicity of their manners, their learning, their strict adherence to ancient usages and rites, attracted the notice of the emissaries of the Roman pontiffs. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who watched over the infant church among the Angles, addressed a letter to these among other presbyters, respecting their mode of keeping Easter, and the Pelagian heresy, which seems not yet to have been extirpated, since the fourth century. [1]

The monastery of Hyona maintained its pre-eminence, as well in sending out missionaries to convert the heathen, in the time of Abbot Segenius II, [2] as in true piety and learning. There were few, if any, institutions during the middle ages, which did more to disseminate the knowledge of literature and science, over a benighted world, to reclaim mankind from heathen ignorance to the knowledge of the true God, than Icolmcille. Most of the principalities of England were converted to the Christian religion, by the emissaries of the Scottish nation. The little kingdom of Kent was brought to the knowledge of the truth by Austin, and his priests. [3] But the pagan worship was again restored among the eastern Saxons in Essex and Middlesex, who had been united to the Christian church by Mellitus of the papal persuasion. [4] The East Angles, particularly in Lincolnshire, [5] and the Northumbrians, [6] who had been baptized by Paulinus, again fell into apostasy; and he was obliged to leave them, and pass over in-

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[1] Beda, Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 19.
[2] Acta Sanctorum, tom. ii. p. 362. Februar.
[3] Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 91.
[4] Bed. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 4.
[5] Bed. H. ib. c. 16.
[6] Bed. H. lib. ii. c. 14.

to Kent. The kingdom of Wessex, which was inhabited by the West Saxons, was converted by Berinus, a missionary from Rome, aided by Oswald, king of Northumbria, a disciple of the Scots church.[1] With the exception of these two kingdoms, Kent and Wessex, the rest of England, for the most part, was instructed in the knowledge of the arts and sciences, and received the gospel, from presbyters belonging to the Scottish church. The little kingdom of Sussex, one of the Heptarchy, appears indeed to have been converted by Wilifred,[2] and those who followed his fortune, upon the dispute which happened between that haughty prelate, and his monarch, Egfrid, King of Northumbria.[3]

Finan succeeding Aidan, was ordained and sent by the Scots to be bishop of Lindisfarne,[4] in Britain. Cedda, Adda, Betti, Ceollach, Trumhere, and Diuma, some of whom had left Scotland along with Finan, together with several other presbyters, who derived the benefit of his instructions,[5] converted the Northumbrians, Middle Angles, Mercians and East Saxons,[6] whose chief city was London, and instructed many of them in the liberal arts, and the learning of the times. Finan was assailed by Romanus, a zealous defender of the rites and ceremonies of the Latin church, who came to Northumbria for the purpose of challenging him to a public dispute. But as he affirmed that he would adhere to the usages of his own church, which agreed with the Eastern, at least in regard to the mode of keeping Easter, this monk quietly returned home to Kent.[7] It was at this time deemed ne-

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[1] Bed. lib. ii. c. 7. [2] Bed. l. iv. c. 13, 16. [3] Bed. lib. iv. c. 12.
[4] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 23. [5] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 23, 24. [6] Ibid. c. 21-24.
[7] Finan wrote a book on Easter, Beda, Hist. Eccles., which is now lost, together with some Spiritual Advices to King Ferquhard.

cessary for three bishops to be present, at the ordination of one of those dignitaries of the Scottish church in Northumbria.[1] Originally they received their ordination from presbyters; and at first this ceremony took place only where one of these was himself a bishop, of presbyterian ordination.[2] Such were the steps by which the church polity of the greater part of England was changed, from a form of government, which bore at first a pretty strong resemblance to that of Scotland.

Mercia, under which was comprehended the middle parts of England, remained long in heathen ignorance. But a marriage taking place between Piada, the eldest son of Penda, king of the Mercians, and Alchflida, the daughter of Oswi, king of Northumbria, this prince was converted to Christianity, with all his followers. Diuma was, upon this occasion, consecrated first bishop of the Mercians by Finanus.[3] Wilifrid, the second bishop of Northumbria, who succeeded Colman when he threw up that situation, went into France to receive his consecration from the hands of Agilbertus, at that time archbishop of Paris. But making too long a stay in that country, Cedda was consecrated at Wini in his place, and instead of Lindisfarne, was appointed bishop of Winchester.[4] Wilifrid, soon afterwards returning, laid claim to the bishopric of Northumbria. Theodore, a Cicilian, who had been sent by Pope Vitalian to be archbishop of Canterbury, on the death of Wighart, on the Continent, translated Cedda to the see of Litchfield in 670. He placed Wilifrid at York, which was now appointed as the seat of the bishop of the Northumbrians,[5] or his arrival in Eng-

[1] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 17-22. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. lib. ii. c. 21.
[4] Edii Vita Wilfridi, apud xv. Scrip. p. 58. [5] Beda, lib. iv. c. 2.

land might have perhaps been fatal to the peace of the church.

The Scottish nation was, in the end of the seventh century, so famous for its literary establishments, that some of the English youth preferred it to their own country, and came over for their better instruction. Among these was St Willibrord, a Briton, who studied theology and philosophy for a space of twelve years under the best masters in Scotland.[1] Such, indeed, was its distinguished rank at this period, among the most famous nations for literature in Europe, that, by way of pre-eminence, it was known on the Continent by the name of "Learned "Scotia." To the credit of the Scottish literature, this eminent title was given it by an enemy and a Briton.[2] Beda, who bore no good will to the Scottish nation, passes this creditable eulogium on the successors of Columba, and those who were educated under them, "that they were mo- "dest and unassuming, distinguished for the simplicity of "their manners, diligent observers of the works of piety "and chastity, which they had learned from the prophetic "and apostolic writings."[3] With this primitive discipline, they long maintained their liberty, against the canons and ordinances of the Romish church. They tenaciously adhered to the discipline of their order: they despised the costly ritual of the Romanists, the pageantry of the choir, and the absolution of the priest: they guarded against every innovation made by their artful emissaries; and, instead of yielding to their Maker a splendid sacrifice of outward pomp and shew, they gave him the simple homage of the heart. It appears, then, that they had fallen

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[1] Vit. St. Willibr. See the Translat. in Ware's Irish Writers.

[2] Alcuinus, a Briton; vid. Opera Alcuin, Ware. Script. Hiberu.

[3] Bed. lib. iii. c. 3 and 4.

off little from the ancient order and discipline of the church, in respect of the Greek and Latin ecclesiastics, from whom they originally derived their knowledge of the Christian religion, and the rudiments of literature.

We have noticed many superstitions which had crept, both into their sacred and profane literature. These arose more from the imperfect nature of their philosophy, which, even in its best state, misled them in their interpretation of the Scriptures, than from the corruptions which had been attached to it. It is true, that they were inferior to those in the Alexandrian school, in the science of astronomy. Their obstinate adherence to the old way of keeping Easter,[1] shews that the Scots were ignorant of the cycles of Meton of Athens, or the lunar circle of nineteen years, adopted in place of the solar one of twenty-eight, which was discovered by the Alexandrian school. But even that of Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian, which was afterwards substituted for the lunar cycle, or golden number, as it has been called, in the sixth century, was found deficient when it was corrected in the end of the fifteenth, by order of Pope Gregory. This cycle, with its amendments, is now made use of by most nations, with the exception of the Britons; and from this it would seem that both the ancient Scots, and the Romish and Eastern churches, were equally distant from the truth, in their astronomical calculations.

The rage for the monastic mode of life had now become very prevalent. It is to this circumstance that we are to refer the rapid conversion of the Saxon, Pictish, and Scottish empires, and the preservation, particularly of sacred literature, in the latter, almost in its primitive state. Servanus, or St Serf, receiving the island

[1] Bed. lib. iii. c. 3-5.

of Lochleven from Brudius, king of the Picts, there instituted a monastery, subject to an abbot, which, in its rules and discipline, seems to have differed nothing from the same institution at Hyona.[1] Servanus was a cotemporary of Adamnan, who was at that time abbot of Hyona, and received a visit from this monk, for the purpose of laying down rules for the management of the monastery.[2]

Pleased with the monastic way of life, which his friend Adamnan had recommended, and anxious to add to the number of those institutions, which were the only nurseries of learning and religion in these early times, he passed over the Forth to Culross, where he founded a church or monastery, and endowed it with land.[3]

The Greek language appears to have formed no part of the literary pursuits of these monastic bodies. Although the Latin had probably made some progress, yet the monastery of Lochleven does not seem to have been possessed of a single copy of the ancients. Its library, which, long after this period, consisted only of seventeen books, was confined principally to the writings of the fathers, the laws of the church, and some books of the Holy Scriptures.[4]

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[1] Regist. St. Andr. [2] Winton, Chronic.

[3] Winton, Chron. He spent the most of his days at Lochleven, which was called St Serf's isle, where he died. Brev. Abredon. in Julio, fol. xvi. a. b.

[4] Among these were, the Books of Origen; the Book of Sentences, written by St Bernard, abbot of Cleanveaux; three Quires concerning the Sacrament; Ecclesiastical Laws; the Reader, or Companion; a work ascribed to Jerome, on the Vices of the Fathers; the Writings of Prosper Aquitain, who lived in the fifth century; a Dictionary; a Book of Sentences, one of the most ancient; a Pastoral, for explaining the duties and privileges of Ecclesiastics; a Gradual, or Book of Responses; and a Missall, or Mass Book; together with the Acts of the Apostles, and the four Gospels; the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs; a Commentary on the Book of Glosses

The inhabitants of the Western Isles, attracted, about this period, the attention of the Scottish presbyters. They seem to have been very grateful for the instructions which they received, since they endowed the monasteries of Hinba, Achalming in Ethica, Elen-naomh, together with Kilduim, at Lochow.[1] Aidan and Finan built churches, founded abbeys, and filled them with Scottish teachers, who did much to diffuse a knowledge of religion, arts and sciences, over England.[2] Thus, the care of the Scottish monasteries was directed particularly to the planting of parochial churches; and these were seminaries for all kinds of learning taught by the monks, the most useful of the clerical body.

Colman and Tuda, who were both from Hyona,[3] succeeded Finan in his religious and literary capacity of instructors among the Britons. The famous dispute at Whitby, in Yorkshire, regarding the observance of Easter, took place, at this time, between Colman and Wilifrid, who was of the Romish persuasion. But Wilifrid gaining the superiority, Colman resigned his situation,[4] and returned to Hyona. Many English and Scottish monks accompanied Colman to Scotland upon this occasion, where they purchased from the Lords of the fee, lands in the island of Vitula-Alba, with a view to erect a monastery, which was called Mayio. From this time, indeed, may be dated the decline of the Scottish interest in Britain,[5] down to the period when Adamnan, and the Scottish nation in general, yielded to the Romish practice

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on these Songs; and an Exposition on the Book of Genesis. Chronicon, Kellach, bishop of St Andrew's, addressed to the Culdees of Lochleven; vid. Dalrymple's Coll. p. 129.

[1] Adamnanus, Vit. Columb.
[2] Bed. lib. iii. c. 26.
[3] Bed. Hist. Eccl.
[4] Bed. lib. iii. c. 5, 21, 23.
[5] This circumstance happened in 665.

of keeping Easter. The clergy of Hyona, in carrying on this dispute, seem to have rested their authority, for celebrating Easter after their own way, on John, the beloved disciple of our Lord. The Romanists, on the contrary, affirmed, with great confidence, that their mode of keeping Easter was instituted by St Peter, the door-keeper of heaven. Oswi, king of Northumberland, who was very desirous to have the matter settled, either the one way or the other, as the queen and his son observed the Romish ritual, while he himself adhered to the Scottish, determined upon no account to disregard the institutions of Peter, who kept the keys of the kingdom of heaven;[1] and thus, the Scots were foiled in this attempt, to preserve the ancient usages of their church.

Adamnan filled the office of abbot at this period, in the monastery of Hyona. Upon a visit which he paid to Alfred, he had been persuaded to yield to the Romish see, in regard to the time of keeping Easter; and, on this account, Disbodius and Levinius, with some other monks, left him. Although he was too much addicted to credulity and the monastic life, to withstand the innovations of the Roman pontiffs,[2] yet he was a man careful to preserve peace and unanimity both at home and abroad.[3] Among the several productions ascribed to Adamnan, his most valuable works were, an account of the seats of learning and religion,[4] a paschal work, together with the life of St Columba, the father of the Scottish church.[5] Adamnan, although he was gloomy, and austere in his

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[1] Bed. lib. iii. c. 21.

[2] Gerard. Johan. Jossi. de Hist. Lat. lib. ii. p. 259.

[3] Vir unitatis et pacis studiosissimus. Bed. H. Eccl.

[4] De Locis Sanctis, lib. iii.; apud Mabillon, Sec. Bened. 3. Par. ii. p. 502.

[5] De Vit. Columb. lib. iii.; apud Canis. tom. i. par. ii. p. 562.

mode of life, appears, nevertheless, to have been free of the crimes and moral guilt, which are laid to the charge of some of his countrymen, the Scottish monks. He led a life entirely devoted to God, in continence and prayer. He seldom tasted food, except on the Lords day and Thursday; and frequently spent the whole night in these devotional exercises. [1] The abbey of Coldingham was his first retreat. [2] It was upon the destruction of that institution by fire, which he is said to have predicted, that he retired to Hyona, with his co-presbyter Ædails. [3] The abbot, upon his mission to the Northumbrian court, renewed the controversy about Easter, which had been matter of such keen contention between the eastern and western churches; and the time of the celebration of this festival, gave rise to many improvements in mathematics.

The Jewish pasch, or passover, was a festival instituted by the Almighty, when he smote the first-born of the Egyptians, and passed by the houses of the Israelites. [4] The sacrament of the last supper was appointed by our Saviour, in place of this annual feast; and the dispute which at this time rose so high in the British islands, was, whether this ordinance took place upon the passing of the son of God from life to death, or on the day of his crucifixion? The western churches observed the former, and the eastern the latter. For this reason, they were called by the Latins, Quartodecimani, because they adhered to the fourteenth day of the first moon in the month of March, which corresponded with the day of the Jewish passover. [5] The council of Nice, which was called by the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century, appointed the celebration of this ordinance, on the first Sunday posterior

[1] Bed. lib. iv. c. 25. [2] Camerarius, de Pietat. p. 90.
[3] Bed. lib. iv. c. 25. [4] Exodus, c. 12. [5] Baronius, sect. A. D. v. 664.

to the fourteenth day of the moon, and the Sunday after, should it happen on a Sabbath.[1] They agreed, that the fourteenth day of the moon would fall upon the vernal equinox, or immediately after, which then took place upon the twenty-first of March;[2] that the festival could only vary from the eighth of March to the fifth of April, one calendar month, and that this subject deserved the serious attention of the learned. The Culdees never observed this festival at the same time with the Jewish passover, a term which was strictly adhered to by the western church at the observance of Easter; and thus, it appears, that in the sixth century, the Scottish ecclesiastics never held it on the twentieth of the moon in March.

Adamnan, abbot of Hy, fell in with the Saxon mode of keeping Easter, upon being sent by the Scots on an embassy to Alfred, king of Northumbria.[3] But although the Picts, who had received a circumstantial account of the Roman way of calculating its return from Ceolfrid, an abbot belonging to the monastery of Bede,[4] were already brought over to the Saxon mode of observance.[5] Although a decree had been issued, under the sanction of Nechtan, their king, to observe Easter after the manner of the Romanists;[6] yet, it was not till Egbert, a Northumbrian clergyman, had resided with Dunchad, abbot of Hy, among the Scots, during a space of thirteen years, that many of them were reconciled to the Roman mode of calculating the return of this festival.[7]

Learning had, the mean while,[8] revived in the ancient

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[1] Baronius, sect. v. A. D. 664.
[2] Bed. lib. v. c. 15.
[3] Bed. H. Eccl. lib. v. c. 22, p. 33.
[4] Beda, lib. v. c. 22.
[5] Bed. lib. v. c. 21.
[6] Bed. lib. vi. c. 26.
[7] A. D. 716; Bed. lib. v. c. 22. p. 33.
[8] A. D. 723.

monastery of Candida Casa. Pecthelm,[1] Frithwald, and several other eminent men, were successively ordained abbots of this monastic institution. But after the middle of the eighth century, Witherne seems again to have fallen into decay, and was from thenceforth annexed to the jurisdiction of Man.[2]

The Culdee establishment had now acquired a firm footing in the nation. Some of its members not only excelled in astronomy,[3] poetry,[4] and rhetoric, but also in philosophy,[5] mathematics,[6] and several other arts and sciences.[7] The virtuous lives of the presbyters, the respectable acquirements which they had made in various branches of literature; and, above all, the pure system of morality which they inculcated, raised them highly in the estimation of the people.[8] There was scarcely an hour passed, in which they were not employed in addressing the people, reading, writing, or some other laudable employment.[9] Some of these venerable fathers frequently passed three nights, and as many days at a time, deeply engaged in the study of the Holy Scriptures, without either eating or drinking; and during this period they permitted no one to approach them.[10] It was from the fountain of unpolluted truth, that the Scottish presbyters taught their disciples to confirm their doctrine.[11] They admitted only as established truths those which were con-

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[1] Savill. Chronologia, ap. Scriptor. post Bedam.

[2] The other bishops or abbots of Whitherne were, Pechtwin, 777; Ethelbert, 790; and Edulf the last. Spelman, Concil. p. 289; Saville, Chronologia.

[3] Vid. supra, Columbanus.

[4] Sedulius, St Olaus, Barochius, Dissert. ii. de Poet. Lat.

[5] Vid. Annot. Opera Sedulii in Append. Bignæanæ. Edinb. 1701, 8vo.

[6] Opera Columb. vid. supra.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Smith's Life of Columb.

[9] Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. i. c. 1.

[10] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 12.

[11] Smith's Life of Columb. p. 114.

tained in the writings of the Prophets, Evangelists and Apostles,[1] and rejected on these points the authority of the fathers. It is among the Scottish Culdees, that we are to look for that pure pattern of Christian life, such as was exemplified in the African, Greek and Egyptian Anchorites. By the superstition of the times, they are indeed characterized in this, and the following century, as illustrious servants of God. But although the members of the Culdee establishment were wholly withdrawn from the society of men, and employed in the contemplation of heavenly things,[2] and the service of God;[3] they were by no means so austere in their manners as the eastern ascetics. Some of the monks and presbyters were men of wonderful sanctity, temperance and humility.[4] They held little communication with the powerful barons of the country, unless with those who came for the sake of prayer; but from these they could not be prevailed on to accept of any lands.[5] They were not only distinguished for their wisdom and piety, but even their profound learning.[6] Nor was the laity, who mixed in the social and active scenes of life, and continued to lead virtuous lives, less commended for their purity[7] and simplicity of manners.

The monastery of Hyona, in the time of Segenius,[8] and for a considerable period afterwards, took the lead in almost all the monastic institutions of the Scots, and every religious establishment of this kind among the Picts.[9]

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[1] Beda, lib. iii. c. 4.

[2] Greg. Can. de Duplici Statu Religionis, apud Scotos, p. 14.

[3] Alcuin, Epist. 26.

[4] Bromton, Chron. apud Dec. Scrip. Col. 788, 789. Miræ Sanctitatis, parsimoniæ extiterint. [5] Ibid. [6] Alcuin, Epist. 26. [7] Ibid.

[8] Acta Sanctorum, tom. ii. p. 362. [9] Bed. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 3.

But, although the Scots were famous for their learning, their inconsiderate zeal sometimes outstepped their prudence and moderation. Although knowledge of all kinds had been increasing in these establishments, and monastic institutions were become numerous, religion was by no means advancing in the purity of its precepts. The knowledge of religion was indeed spreading more rapidly over the country, but its essential purity was on the decline, and seems for a time to be given, but as it were to mislead the ignorant, who were not capable of appreciating its real value. Not only had the form of church government at that time degenerated from its primitive simplicity; but the purity of practical religion was also corrupted. Instead of unaffected piety, the Christians of this century were guided by a fanatical zeal, and superstitious credulity. A Penitential of Cumin, a disciple of Columba, [1] which is still extant, serves to shew the ignorance and superstition, which had overrun the whole Scottish nation, about this period, [2] notwithstanding its high rank for learning, among the nations. The distinguishing of sins into various classes; the celibacy of superior clerks and professed monks; marriage, which was permitted only on a Sunday; the excommunication of such as were guilty of bigamy, usury, as well as of those who were not charitable to the poor; penance, which amounted to a separation from the church, upon the confession of sin; immoderate fasting; the prohibition of eating blood, and things strangled, the observance of Lent, and praying for the dead, shew what a load of ignorance the people laboured under. [3] Fasts were ordered by the bishops on almost every occasion. The

[1] Jonas, Vita St. Columb. c. 13. apud Demp. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Scot. l. iii. p. 163.

[2] A. D. 657.

[3] Vid. Cumin's Penitential.

continental disciples of the Culdees abstained from flesh and wine at certain periods, and observed Lent.[1] There were many fasts in the course of the four ember weeks. Friday and Saturday were always set apart for this purpose, and Lent was distinguished into three kinds, that which preceded Easter, that which began in November, and ended at Christmas-day, and the fast observed after Pentecost.[2]

But the line of superiority is even yet to be traced, between the Scots and the continental nations. It appears, from a Penitential drawn up by Tersus, a Grecian monk, particularly from the exhortation, absolution, and ample powers of those who were to receive the confession of the penitent,[3] how much the continental nations differed in this particular, from the Scottish discipline of penance. The ecclesiastics of that nation held confession made to God as amply sufficient, contrary to the custom of the Greek church, and left their followers to communicate or not as they pleased.[4] Among the Latins, a certain number of maxims and phrases was all their philosophical stock;[5] and the Greeks had resolved their theological store into the compilation of a few homilies from Augustin and Gregory, which were accounted "the true salt of the "earth."[6] The able productions of Columbanus, Jonas, Adamnan, and other individuals of the Scottish nation, were even learned for the day in which they were written. They shew more critical acumen, and learned research,

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[1] Raban. Maurus, Cleric. Institut. et Cerem. Eccl. lib. ii. Hustulphum Archiep. A. D. 819. [2] Ibid.

[3] Peniten. Theod. edit. Paris, 1679, 4to, by Petit.

[4] See the Penitential of Cumin.

[5] Assemanni Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican, tom. i. p. 498.

[6] Mabillon, Analecta Veteris Ævi, tom. i. p. 42.

than the turgid eloquence and logical subtilties of Maximus and Somphronius, in their controversial works, against the Monotholites, which were borrowed from Aristotle; the insipid homilies of Isychius, bishop of Jerusalem,[1] Andrew, bishop of Crete, and Eligius, bishop of Limoges. The summary of theological doctrine of Tain of Saragossa was unskilfully compiled from Augustin and Gregory; and the other productions of the Greek and Latin writers of this age, were both deficient in point of learning and taste.[2]

Some innovations were about this time introduced into the English churches, contrary to the discipline, which had been originally laid down by the Scottish missionaries. Auricular confession was now admitted in that country, as it seemed in some measure indispensable, before the priest could give absolution. But the Scots still believed that confession to God was amply sufficient.[3] When we consider the tumults and desolation that reigned in the empire at this time, and the little protection that was given to learning, our wonder will be, how the culture of the sciences advanced with so much vigour and success in Scotland; for learning had been in general on the decline, since the sacking of Rome by the Goths. In Greece, the Aristotelian philosophy was now taught in the public schools. Since the opinions of Origen, the Nestorian, Eutychian and Pelagian controversies had excited so much trouble in the church, the more sublime doctrines of Plato had fallen into disuse, and were confined to the solitary retreats of the monastic orders.[4] Their system of

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[1] Simon, Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccl. de M. du Pin, tom. i. p. 26.

[2] Vid. Mosheim, Hist. Eccl.

[3] Egberti Institut. Eccl.

[4] Mosheim, Hist. Eccl. cent. vii.

morals was at this time gathered from St Gregory and Augustin. Those of the former seem to have made a conspicuous figure in the world, soon after they were compiled, since they were the first, which superseded the productions of the heathen philosophers. [1]

Learning among the Latins had also degenerated into gross ignorance, [2] and unless some poor remains of the arts, and the true spirit of philosophy, which was to be met with at Rome and Italy, [3] the sciences seem to have taken shelter at Hyona, [4] under Ceudi, its abbot and bishop, [5] and in Ireland. This seat of learning was at this time superior to any in Europe. Ireland itself acknowledged its pre-eminence; and the monasteries of that country, as well as those of the Picts, Scots, and Britons, had been long subject to the ancient College of St Columba. [6]

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[1] Vid. Bruker. Hist. Crit. tom. iii. p. 2. c. 2.

[2] Steph. Baluz. Observat. ad Regionem Pruniensem, p. 540.

[3] Lud. Aut. Murator. Antiq. Italicæ Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 811; vid. Mosheim, H. Eccl.

[4] Hericus, or Ericus of Auxerre. Paris, ed. 1543.

[5] He died A. D. 711. Colgan, Triad. Thaumaturg.

[6] Bed. Hist. lib. iii. c. 3.

CHAP. VI.

The sciences which were taught at Hyona.—Jurisprudence.—Geometry. — Music. — Arithmetic.—Astronomy.—Computation of time.—Writings and charters.

Among those sciences, that attracted the attention of the British in general, was the Roman jurisprudence, which had now become a favourite study in Britain.

Geometry was one of the seven arts, which were accounted liberal by our ancestors, [1] and was included among the Quadrivium, which was supposed competent to the solution of every difficulty in the arts and sciences. [2] Under this was comprehended Geography, in which the Scots made some new discoveries. Ancient geographers had made little progress in this art, to what has since been made. The knowledge of Herodotus scarcely extended beyond the Ægean sea; [3] Possidonius and Artimedorus supposed that the sun sunk every night under the Ægean wave; [4] and it was not till the time of Ptolemy that geography was reduced into a regular system. This skilful mathematician, by adding many improvements, such as tables and maps constructed according to the longitude and latitude of the place, to the historical method adopted, previously to this time, greatly facilitated the improvement of this science. Neither the author of the maps of

[1] Brukerii Philosoph. tom. iii. p. 597. [2] Scan Salii Metalog. l. i. c. 12.
[3] Herodotus, lib. ii. [4] Strabo, l. iii.

those provinces, which the Romans subdued,[1] nor the geographers, which were sent over by that people to measure the whole earth, nor the learned Phœnicians, who, at the request of Neco, king of the Egyptians, reviewed the coasts of Africa for three years, nor Darius, in his survey of the Eastern Ethiopian sea, and the Indies, or Alexander, in his Asiatic expedition, had discovered the circular form of the earth.[2] The ancients eventually found out the circular form of the earth, and had proceeded so far as to be able to calculate an eclipse; but few, if any, of them believed that it was a spherical form, and that every nation had its antipodes. Some Scotchmen, carrying their observation beyond the limited sphere of the eighth century, maintained this opinion; and affirmed, that a great part of the earth was not yet discovered.[3]

The Scots have ever been distinguished for their music. According to a writer of the middle ages, they were indebted for this, as for many other things, to the Irish; but if this was the case, they were better musicians than their instructors in the twelfth century.[4] Both the Welsh, Irish and Scots received it from one common origin. The bards of the British and Celtic nations, in general, were musicians, and raised the song, and tuned the harp by turns.[5] The Scottish monks dedicated, amongst studies of higher importance, no small portion of their time to that of music, and left behind them several treatises upon this art.[6] The scale on which the old genuine airs belonging to this nation were performed, was a scale of five notes, instead of seven, deficient in the fourth and

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[1] Bernard Veren. Geog. Gener. l. i. p. 5.

[2] Strabo, l. i. ii. iii. Vosii de Sien. Math. c. 43, and de Hist. Grec. l. ii. c. 7. Vid. M'Kenzie's Lives.

[3] Vid. infra.

[4] Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived in 1185.

[5] Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.

[6] Trithemius, Catal. Illus. Vir. p. 125.

seventh in the major key; but if we take the entire octave, it contains only six. The Scottish scale is less perfect, but more simple, than that which is generally made use of at the present day. By using this, instead of the diatonic and chromatic musical scale, which was observed by the surrounding nations of Europe, the Scots have preserved their airs in that state of simplicity and beauty, which belongs not to the music of the more perfect one. But although this was one great mean of preserving the Scottish melodies, they owe their simplicity, perhaps, to another cause. In music, the Scots had made as little refinement as in manners and customs. Simplicity is the distinguishing characteristic of their music, as well as of their modes of living. Accustomed to woodland scenery, they introduced into their compositions the melodies of the grove; and the blackbird, the woodcock and plover furnished them with some of the finest notes in the pibroch. The melodies of China[1] and Hindostan are the only tunes which bear a resemblance to the Scottish airs;[2] but this can easily be accounted for, since they make use of the same scale.[3] It appears, indeed, that the Celtic nations carried it along with them in their first migrations to Europe; and although the Welsh and the Irish had lost this scale before the twelfth century,[4] it is still preserved in Scotland. The Welsh sung not in unison, but had as many different parts as they had performers; which finally terminated in one common organic melody on B flat. The treble part they began in a soft mood; and producing at length what may be called an irregular regularity, the melody became harmonious and

[1] Father Amyot.
[2] Vid. Macculloch's Travels in Scotland.
[3] Father Amyot.
[4] Giraldus Cambrensis.

complete.[1] Although the Welsh, at an early period, adopted the diatonic and chromatic scale, their music was not the same as that on the Continent. The Northumbrian music, which was introduced into England in the eighth century by some Italians, differed from the Welsh in making a concord in unisons and octaves.[2]

Arithmetic was probably little understood at this early period; but the Scots appear to have found out the method of calculating suppositions, which were called parts of numbers. The progress of arithmetic among the ancient Scots was curious. The word denoting five was compounded of *cna*, round, and *ec*, a notch or nick;[3] from the inward or round position of the hand, after making use of the five fingers as signs.[3] The Greek pempazein, to count or calculate, signifies to enumerate by fives;[4] and among the Icelanders, and inhabitants of Greenland, their signs exceeded not five numerals.[5] After they had again repeated this operation of the five fingers, they reached *doec-ten*, which signifies two nicks; and in this manner they proceeded to a thousand, which amounted to two hundred nicks. Pythagoras, the celebrated heathen philosopher, was as much distinguished for his knowledge of arithmetic as the inductive art. By the mystical aid of numbers, he pretended to lay open the most hidden secrets of nature,[6] and the mysterious plans of Providence; and his knowledge of this science seems to have been handed down in the traditional records of our ancestors. Multiplication tables were, in these ancient times, called after this philosopher Pythagorian tables.[7] In one of those arithmetical cases,

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[1] Sub obtusa grossi oris cordæ sonitu. Girald. Cambren.
[2] Giraldus Cambrensis.
[3] Grant on the Gael, p. 89.
[4] Πεμπαζειν, see Plutarch.
[5] Grant on the Gael, p. 90.
[6] Vid. supra.
[7] Bed. lib. i. p. 103.

found in the annals of the eighth century, many of which are to be seen in our present systems of arithmetic at this day, it is demonstrated, that twenty shillings make a pound in weight; and a question is stated, [1] the solution of which proves, that the pound consisted of twelve ounces. The equatorial circumference of the earth was found to be equal to twenty-four thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine geographical miles, [2] at two hundred and fifty-two obstadia; an observation which was probably borrowed from Eratosthenes, who discovered this from the projection of shadows. [3] Beda, a native of Britain, who was the most distinguished scholar of this century, formed rules for constructing dials and astralobs. [4] By means of these, and other instruments, he found the diurnal revolution of Saturn to be thirty days, Mars two, Jupiter twelve, and that of the Sun round the earth to amount to three hundred and sixty-five days six hours. [5] Under Astronomy, was comprehended the science of Astrology, and the perplexing calculation of Horoscopes. The Zodiac, and its twelve signs, through which the planetary orbs find their trackless way, occupied much attention with the Scots and Britons, [6] who seem to have laid down many rules, and made not a few observations on this science. [7] Such inquiries attracted the notice of some of the learned, who had been educated under Scottish teachers, during the seventh, and latter end of the eighth century. [8]

The solar cycle, which was intended to obviate the irregularity of the year, consisting of fifty-two weeks and a day,

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[1] Est discus qui pensat libras 30, sive solidas 600. Bed. p. 135.

[2] Bed. p. 163.

[3] Strabo, lib. i. p. 113, et passim. Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. 18, lib. vi. c. 29. [4] Beda, p. 463. [5] Beda, p. 387. [6] Vid. supra.

[7] Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 2-3.

[8] Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 2 and 3. compared with p. 6 and 7.

by means of the first seven letters of the alphabet, was found out at an early period. The letters made use of in this cycle, corresponded to the days of the month; and were meant to shew the dominical letter, or that which fell on the Sunday; for they were at first introduced by the church, with a view to ascertain more precisely its religious festivals. By means of the odd day, the dominical letter was shifted every year, and would have naturally terminated within that space of time; but the six hours occasioned an additional day every fourth or leap year. The superstition of the ancients pervaded every institution and pursuit. It was interwoven with the constitution of the state, and formed the chief object in the church. It decided the most momentous questions in the senate, and accompanied the soldier to the camp. It overpowered the force of numbers, and where the victory was doubtful, determined it; and there was not a resolution, or a transaction, that was made in ancient times, in which it did not form a chief part. The first Roman Emperor, although he was distinguished for the solidity of his judgment, and fearless intrepidity, was much under the guidance of this pervading principle. The intercalary day, which arose every leap year, was inserted in the month of February, in preference to any other month, by order of Julius Cæsar, on account of two feasts which were celebrated at that time, the Regifugium, and the Terminalia. By this means, the same order of the dominical letter never returned, till the end of twenty-eight years. This subjection of the lunar year to the motion of the Sun, which was intended to obviate the irregularity, was brought about by the famous astronomer, Sosigenes of Alexandria, soon after the battle of Pharsalia. The golden number, or the cycle of nineteen years, invented at first by Meton of Athens, was proposed, in order to determine, by a certain course

of years, the days of the new moons. Beginning this calculation from the twenty-third of March, the vernal equinox in the seventh century, they counted onward, through a period of nineteen years, first by twenty-nine, and then by thirty days, alternately; but even at the end of this period, there remained an hour and a half, which came to be another intercalary day every three hundred and fourth year, that was entirely overlooked. [1]

Dionysius Exiguus was the first who made the cycle to agree with the incarnation of Christ; [2] but it was not publicly acknowledged for a long time. [3] The Christian mode of computation is said, in the seventh and eighth centuries, not to have been mentioned in any charters; [4] nor does it seem to have been generally admitted into their writings till the end of the ninth century. [5] Carolus Crassus, who lived about this time, has the merit of first introducing it into letters and charters. They at length adhered to these astronomical improvements, which he reduced into practice; and had it not been for him, we might at this day have been ignorant of these valuable inventions. But there is an instance of its being applied in the council writs of Becanceld, under King Withred of England, in six hundred and ninety-four. Beda, a Briton, was the first author who made use of it in history, [6] at least before seven hundred and twenty-five, from whence it found its way, by means of Boniface, a Scotchman, into the councils, histories, and public charters of France. [7]

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[1] F. Lamy, Traité Hist. de l'Anc. Paque des Juiss. Paris, 1692, 8vo. M'Kenzie's Lives. M. Blondel. Hist. de Cal. Ron. p. 105. et seq.

[2] Dionysius Exiguus, Epist. ad Petronium, A. D. 525.

[3] Brucherius Belg. Roman, l. ii. c. 8. n. 4.

[4] Joachim Vactinus Rer. Aleman. tom. iii. l. 2. p. 32.

[5] Papebroch Propyl. ad tom. ii, Apr. § 102.

[6] Mabillon de Re Diplom. l. ii. c. 2. p. 17, § 24, n. 15.

[7] Mabillon, Ibid.

About the same time that Dionysius flourished, Victorius, the chronologer, found out a new cycle of five hundred and thirty-two years. By multiplying the solar and lunar one twenty-eight and nineteen together, he comprehended all the changes and differences that can happen between new moons, and dominical letters, during that period. This seems indeed to have been the age of cycles and mathematical speculations. Not satisfied with these amendments, they invented others, and an indiction or cycle of fifteen years was next tried. The computation of Dionysius Exiguus, which is yet frequently observed, although some improvements were introduced in the fifteenth century, proved the means of reconciling the Eastern and Western churches, in regard to the time of observing some religious festivals, and was acted upon for some time. But men are ever ready to lay hold on any thing, which has the appearance of novelty. In five hundred and forty-one, it was enjoined by the Orlean council, that Easter should be celebrated every year, according to the table of Victorius. [1]

The Eastern and Scottish churches calculated the return of Easter, by means of the cycle of nineteen years, in the seventh century; whereas it is doubtful, whether the Latins made use of it at all, since their first cycle consisted of eighty-four. [2] This last mode of computation was adopted by the Roman, [3] as well as the western churches in general. It appears to have been borrowed from the Jews, who observed the same; [4] and the Scots seem to have known no other in the fifth century, although they were

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[1] M. du Pin, Nov. Bib. des Aut. Eccl. vol. iv. p. 233; and Mackenzie.
[2] Inter Scriptor. Medii Ævi, tom. i. c. 14.
[3] Prolog. Victorii Aquitain. Epist. Paschasini. Cyrilli. Ambrosii et Leo. Vid. Bucher de doctrin. temp. [4] Epiphanius Heres. 51. Alog.

not Quartodecimans.[1] This nation, together with the French church,[2] adhered for a long time to the old cycle of eighty-four years,[3] and were long before they admitted the new computation of time.

Such were the sciences in which the Scots and Picts were most distinguished; and to these we may also add, Divinity, or the study of the Holy Scriptures, and Controversial Theology, which chiefly engrossed their attention. The art of writing had hitherto made little progress. Beyond the precincts of the monastery, where many of the monks were employed in transcribing the works of the Fathers, the books of the Holy Scriptures, and the writings of the ancients; and some, in effacing those valuable monuments of ancient learning, in order to inscribe in their place the saintly biography of that age, it was altogether unknown. Ethelbert, the king of Northumbria, granted written charters about six hundred and seventeen.[4] Several were given to monasteries, and other incorporated bodies of this kind, in the end of the seventh century;[5] and the Monks of Glassenbury, a monastery which was founded by Ina, received lands with a charter, at a very early period.[6]

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[1] Opera Augustin.
[2] Epist. Columb. ad Greg.
[3] A. D. 694, Mabillon, l. i. c. 4. l. iii. c. 2. n. 4 and 10.
[4] Chron. St. Augustin. MS. Biblioth. A. F. C.
[5] Bucherius Decan. Pasch. p. 138, 190.
[6] Monast. vol. i. p. 24.

CHAP. VII.

Decline of learning.—The Continent.—Literary characters.—Albin.—Dungal.—Scotus.—Charlemagne.—Maurus.—Etymology.—Pursuits of the learned.—Mode of teaching.—Celibacy.—Clement, a supporter of presbytery.—Samson.—Abbots of Hy.—Sedulius.—Wilibald.[1]—Rumoldus.—Virgil.—Geography.—Decline of learning.—Flowers of Britain.—Abbots of Hy.—Church of Rechrain.

THE monastic mode of living was daily gaining ground; and it not unfrequently happened, that some of the most distinguished individuals of the nation, preferred the ascetic habits of a convent, to the splendour of a court. The nunneries that were established among the Scots in the fifth century, which contained a certain number of recluse virgins, with an abbess, began now to assume a different form. Ebba, the daughter of Edelfrid, king of Northumbria, who, with her seven brothers, and a number of noblemen, had obtained refuge among the Scots and Picts;[2] being there instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, and baptized,[3] lost all relish for the world and its fascinating

[1] Foelocho, Coide.

[2] Edwinus, septem filios Ethelfridi, et unam filiam Ebbam, ex regno patris sui expulit, Scotiam adveniunt. Scotichronic. lib. iii. Ebba, Virgo Oswaldi Northumbriæ regis soror uterina, quæ cum suis septem fratribus in terra Scotorum ibi religatis. Breviar. Abredon.; Augustus, fol. 87, a. b. Apud Scotos et Pictos exulabant. Bed. H. lib. iii.

[3] Bed. lib. iii. c. 1.

pleasures. This princess founded and endowed the monastery of Colludi, or Coldingham, a place which derives its name from the bleakness of its situation. The female sex were, in ancient times, degraded below the rank to which they are by nature entitled; but as an inducement for them to take the veil, some of them were again raised to authority and pre-eminence. Ebba was here chosen abbess of the institution, which was neither a nunnery nor a monastery. Differing from the directress of former establishments of the kind, the authority of the abbess, extended not only over the nuns, but also over the abbot and monks.[1] A similar institution is said to have been formed at Whitby in the kingdom of Northumbria; and, however inconsistent it may appear with the uncultivated manners, and rude barbarity of ancient times, the abbess, enjoyed the supreme authority. The illustrious virgin, who was the founder of these conventual assemblies, which were composed both of nuns and monks, was buried in her own religious nunnery at Colludi,[2] where an ancient city is afterwards said to have been reared.[3]

On the Continent learning was fast on the decline. The most famous scholars of Rome, the ancient seat of learning, and the cradle of the arts and sciences, wrote in a barbarous style.[4] When Charlemagne attempted to restore learning in France, the study of the liberal arts had been laid aside.[5] In Spain they enacted many canons against ordaining priests, who could neither read nor sing psalms;[6] but in Scotland they found men capable of instructing them in all these liberal arts, although this

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[1] Bed. lib. iv. c. 25. [2] Breviar. Aired. Augustus, fol. 87, a. b.
[3] Bed. lib. iv. 19-25; Vit. Cuth. c. 10.
[4] Murator, Antiq. tom. iii. p. 811. [5] Ibid.
[6] Bruckeri, Hist. Philosoph. tom. iii p. 571.

country had degenerated, too, in piety, and real learning. The success which attended these laudable designs of Charlemagne; the Platonic schools erected at his court, [1] when the doctrines of Aristotle had generally taken the precedence; the excellent establishment made for the advancement of literature, and the emulation excited amongst the monastic orders, by the laudable exertions principally of Scotsmen, justly conferred upon Charlemagne, in some measure, the merit of laying the foundation of that ancient institution, the university of Paris. [2] Nothing more clearly evinces, the superior eminence of the Scottish and Irish literature over that of the Roman empire in general, than the noble exertions of their sons in conveying instruction to the ignorant, under the protection of Charlemagne, and the number of well-educated Christians who emigrated from Scotland to France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany.

The worship of images became, about this time, a matter of controversy with the learned. Albin, a native of Scotland, [3] who is distinguished from Alcuin, the tutor of Charlemagne, for whom he has been mistaken, wrote a treatise, under the name of that emperor, when he was his domestic servant, against the proceedings of the Council of Nice, which had decided in favour of image worship. [4] This work is sometimes ascribed to Charlemagne himself; [5] but it appears from the treatise, which was republished at Hanover, [6] by the celebrated Christopher, that

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[1] Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris, tom. i. p. 381; Mabillon, c. 1, § 179.

[2] Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum Ord. Ben. tom. i. Præf. § 181, 182; Launay, Claud. Ioly de Scholis.

[3] Notkerus Balbus. Hen. Canis. Antiquæ Lectiones, Ingoest. 1601.

[4] Vid. Roger. Hovden Ann. Francof. 1601; and Matthew Paris, 793.

[5] In Mosheim, Hist. Eccl. Dr Maclaine, his translator, is inclined to think that it was written by Alcuin.

[6] 8vo, 1731.

it was the production of a scholastic divine, and not of an emperor. The Scottish and Pictish ecclesiastics were the only divines in this century who refused to dishonour their reason, by an implicit reliance on the authority of the fathers. They applied their philosophy, such as it was, to the support of truth, and the doctrines of religion; and Albin, in the four Caroline Books, refutes, from Scripture, all the authorities brought by the Council from the ancient fathers, for establishing image worship. Being sent by Charlemagne to Pavia, he there taught a public school for several years, and became the founder of that university; and although a tincture of Pelagianism is to be found in the Confession of Faith which he published, yet he must be ranked among the first authors of that age, if he wrote the Caroline Books. [1]

Dungal, one of his successors, who was chosen by the Emperor Lotharius to preside over the institution at Pavia, is supposed to have been a native of Scotland. [2] This circumstance is a sufficient proof, how far the Scots and Picts, at this period, surpassed all other nations in practical learning and scientific lore. Italy could not furnish one who was qualified to fill this office; Gaul herself stood in need of foreign aid, [3] and, as we have seen, received many of her best teachers from Scotland.

This friend of letters, prompted by a respect for the memory of Columbus, the founder of the Convent of Bobbio, in the neighbourhood of Piacenza, conferred upon the Italians a signal favour, by making a present of a few valuable works to that convent. Among the books belonging to that library, were a copy of Lucretius, two

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[1] Confessio Fidei per Chiffl. edit. 1651, Dision, 8vo.

[2] Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi, Dissert. 43. [3] Ibid.

books of Ovid, four books of Virgil, with many fragments of the fathers and other writers, which were left in a very imperfect state.[1] These would be esteemed but a very inconsiderable present to a private individual at the present day; but when we consider that a Northumbrian monarch, in the seventh century, paid no less than eight hides of land, or nearly two thousand acres, for a single manuscript alone,[2] the bequest seems indeed worthy of a prince. "Great praise is due to Britain, Scotland, and "Ireland, which at this time surpassed the other nations "of the west in literary acquirements. While learning "elsewhere was languid and uninteresting, it was here en- "couraged and facilitated by the labours of the monks."[3] In Gaul the pursuits of science were revived, and schools opened, by means of Alcuin, a Saxon; and Italy also confessed her obligations to him and his countrymen.[4]

The controversies which again agitated the church, were by no means useless. They roused the energies of the people, and awakened the sympathies of the heart; they interested them in the issue of the contest; and in religious disputes, especially, the greatest subtilty and acuteness were sometimes displayed. Among these disputants, St Clement holds a high rank. He was the champion of the Christian religion; and when the most of Europe was debased by superstition, and merging fast into barbarism again, he boldly stood forth in defence of its doctrines, and gave his voice against image worship, and all the innovations of a degraded church. St Clement was born, and had his education in Scotland.[5] Passing over into France, he there maintained the empire of reason over

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[1] Murat. Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi, Dissert. 43. [2] Bed. p. 295-299.
[3] Murator. Antiq. Ital. [4] Murator. Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi, Dissert. 43.
[5] Notkerus Balbus in Vit. Albin.

superstition and blind enthusiasm. In the end of the eighth century, [1] he wrote a book against image worship, [2] wherein he disclaimed against the intercession and invocation of saints, a veneration for their relics, and pilgrimages to the holy land. If he was more correct in his notions respecting the religious worship and moral duties incumbent upon man, he was less so concerning some of the more abstruse doctrines of the Christian religion. Clement was one of those Arians who were engaged in proving, that Jesus Christ had not the same essence with his Father, [3] because he was begotten by him. But, however erroneous he was in his opinions on this intricate subject, he shews that in his education, which he received in Scotland, he had not neglected the metaphysics of Plato, who believed in the Being, the cause, the Word, the director of all things, and in the Spirit, the soul of the world. This author was the first who, by the order of Charlemagne the emperor, taught a public school at Paris; and he may be said, indeed, to have been the first professor of that university. His Treatise on Image Worship is lost; but it appears from the fragments of this work, which were put together and published by Malchior Goldastus, that it was a body of close reasoning, and displayed, at least, the ingenuity of its author.

It was to the undaunted and intrepid courage of Clement, a Scotchman, that the Culdee establishments were at this time indebted for their purity in doctrine. He contended against the Catholic church, — despised the canons and the rights of synods, as also the proceedings of their courts,—and even denied the explanation given by

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[1] A. D. 796.

[2] M. du Pin, Nouvel. Bib. des Aut. Eccl. tom. vii. p. 3.

[3] Ομοουσιος.

the holy fathers, Jerome, Augustin and Gregory, when they were contrary to the Scriptures. [1]

Boniface was a steady adherent of the Roman Pontiff, and as he was a native of Scotland or Ireland, became the more dangerous an enemy to their religious liberty. But although he treated his countrymen sometimes with great severity, Clement withstood this ambitious ecclesiastic, and accused him of monkish superstition, for condemning the marriage of priests, for appointing masses to be offered up for the dead, and for introducing other rites and ceremonies hitherto unknown in the church. [2] Clement is indeed charged with the heretical doctrines of predestination, and the descent of Christ into hell. But the principal heresy of which he was guilty, was his manful adherence to truth and the Scriptures, to which he seems to have fallen a martyr; and for his integrity he was given over to the secular power, and committed to the flames. [3]

Charlemagne was indeed the patron of learned men, and the friend of arts and sciences. He was always ready to exhort the bishops to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and the clergy in general to the observance of discipline, the monks to regularity, the nobles to sobriety and good example, the magistrates to justice, the warrior to arms, those in office to humility and respect, inferiors to obedience, and all to virtue, concord and love. [4] But the interests of learning were not altogether neglected in France after the demise of Charlemagne. Although the laudable measures of that good prince to revive learning,

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[1] Flaccus Illyricus; vid. Usserii, Syllog. Epist. p. 46, 47.

[2] Aventin, Annal. lib. iii.; et Epist. Zachar. ad Bonif. in tom. ii. Concil.

[3] Catalog. Festium, tom. i. p. 633.

[4] Theod. Epist. Mirelian in Præf. ad Capit.

were not properly followed up by succeeding monarchs, Charles the Bald entered into a correspondence with Johannes Scotus Erigena, perhaps the most learned man in Europe, during the eighth or ninth century.[1] This ingenious scholar and accomplished divine, who was surnamed the Wise, and seems to have received his name from his country, and the place of his birth, on account of his great erudition,[2] was probably a native of the town of Ayr, in Scotland.[3] In whatever manner he acquired the knowledge of languages and philosophy, he was not only pleasant and facetious, acute and penetrating, but, in his own day, had no superior in philosophy, and no equal in his skill in languages.[4] The knowledge of the Greek language and philosophy was a very rare accomplishment in these times of ignorance.[5] As Erigena travelled into foreign parts, that he might make some progress in these studies,[6] and even went to Athens, once so famous for its learning, he appears to have been among the first who revived the study of philosophy in this country. Scotus afterwards passed over into France, where he met with a beneficent patron, and sincere friend, in Charles the Bald. Fostered by the care of this admirer of learning, to him was intrusted the superintendence of the schools;[7] and he there composed books on several subjects. His writings are said to abound in metaphysical subtilty and acuteness; and, as this logical refine-

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[1] He flourished about this period, between the year 804 and 871.

[2] Hinc—Marus, liber i. de Prædest. c. 31; Anastasius, in Epist. ad Car. Cal.; Nicholas, Epist. ad Carol. Calv.

[3] Mib. Miræus, de Gemblacen, c. 93, p. 104; Dempsterius.

[4] Bruckeri, Hist. Philos. tom. iii. p. 615.

[5] Balus, de Script. Britan. p. 114.

[6] Hector Boethius, l. 10.

[7] Gulielm. Malmesb. de Gest. Reg.

ment was of Scottish origin, he became the father of scholastic divinity. [1]

Erigena wrote a book on the Nature of Things, or the Division of Natures, which was reckoned the most curious production of that age, and was remarkable for its metaphysical distinctions. Fond of logical subtilty, and endowed with a genius lively and acute, he engaged much in theological disputation. It was during this period, when he resided in the court of Charles, that he composed his book upon Predestination and the Eucharist, in the controversy with Gotteschale, which gained him a number of enemies, and some monkish replies. [2] But as he was the only one who was acquainted with the writings of the Greeks, that deviated from the path of the Latin philosophers and divines, he imbibed many of their philosophical notions, and was in consequence deemed a heretic. According to an ancient historian, he advanced many things contrary to the Catholic faith, [3] particularly in his writings on the nature of things, which bear a striking resemblance to the works of the Greek fathers. There is a repartee of this learned divine still on record, which shews the independent sentiments of his mind. One day, as Charles the Bald, and Scotus, were sitting at a table opposite to each other, his Majesty wittingly asked him, What is between a Scot and a Sot? to which he replied, Nothing but the table. [4]

Although his attention seems, at one time, to have been directed to biblical criticism, he had the penetration to discover, that there were many works at that period un-

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[1] Jo. Scoti Erigenæ, De Divisione Naturæ, libri quinque, p. 42, 111, 128.
[2] Brucker, Hist. Phil. tom. iii. p. 616.
[3] Hovden. Annal. Adamn. 883.
[4] Hovdeni Annal. A. D. 866.

known, which would do honour to any nation; and he had also the abilities to present these to the world, in a language which was accessible to the learned. He translated some Comments of Maximus upon St Denys, [1] which, with other works of the same kind, were so much the admiration of the age, that it was deemed impossible for them to be the production of a mountaineer living in Scotland. The Christian religion had been established in many countries, and more or less in every state in Europe; but it had many enemies to contend with. Some made their advances privately, and sapped its foundation; others boldly came forward, and branded it as a piece of human invention. But it never wanted its defenders, who strenuously warded off these public and private attacks, which rather served to strengthen the cause, than to prove its overthrow. This eminent scholar, Johannes Scotus, published the Immaculate Mysteries of our Faith against the barbarians, which were drawn up in vindication of the Christian religion; [2] an Essay on the Agreement and Difference of the Greek and Latin Syntax; and, if we can credit an ecclesiastical writer of some note, [3] he translated Aristotle's Morals on the Secret of Secrets, or the Right Government of Princes, from Greek into the Chaldaic, Arabic and Latin languages. Scotus Erigena was the most accomplished scholar in the University of Paris; and, although a Scottish divine, appears to have leaned to the Peripatetic philosophy. [4]

The Scottish nation was at this time distinguished for learned men. It may, indeed, be said to have been the

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[1] Typis impressa Oxon. 1681, fol.

[2] Bale, Dempsterius. [3] M. du Pin.

[4] Anastasius, in Epist. ad Car. Cal.

Augustan age of this country, although, before this period, many superstitions had crept into religion. Rabanus Maurus, whom we have already noticed as a poet, finished his education under Alcuin, at the court of Charlemagne, which, at that time, was the resort of several eminent Scotchmen. This ecclesiastic, who became archbishop of Mentz, seems to have been conversant in all the learning of the times, and wrote large commentaries upon most of the sacred writings.[1] He was well acquainted with the duties of the pastoral office; the ceremonies and rites of the continental church; its orders and litanies; the sacraments, and the vestments of her priests; the most approved mode of interpreting the Holy Scriptures, and all the controversial topics of the day, in which he took a leading part.[2]

Etymological learning had hitherto made little progress in Scotland. The study of languages was at that time confined to a very few; and the knowledge of the Greek, Latin, and other tongues, too inconsiderable in this country, to direct the attention of the learned to philological discussion. Some of the most distinguished scholars of the Scottish nation first led the attention of the native youth to studies of this kind. Scotus Erigena had made great progress in the knowledge of languages; and several men, eminent for learning, now turned the bent of their industry to this untrodden field. Rabanus Maurus wrote a Dissertation on Etymology, comparing some of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, High Dutch and Teutonic words

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[1] Rabanus also wrote a Treatise upon the Vision of God, in MS.; vid. Mabillon; a Commentary on Mathew's Gospel, together with a Book of Offices. Trithemius; Opera Rabani Mauri, Antwerp, tom. vi. 1626, 1627; Cognea Georg. Colvernerio.

[2] Vid. M. Du Pin, Eccl. N. Bib. tom. vii. p. 162, 166.

and affinities; a Treatise upon the Signification and Propriety of Words;[1] and another upon Grammar, in which he seems to have made no farther improvements on the Priscian system.[2]

Astronomy, and the arts of the Quadrivium, were not at this time neglected. Few improvements were indeed introduced; but it was a matter of no small importance, that these pursuits were not altogether overlooked in Scotland. Rabanus composed a book on Time;[3] several works upon the Arts and Sciences;[4] an Essay on Virtue, and the Nature of the Soul;[5] and also a Commentary on the Rule of St Benedict. But his most admired productions, both as to the style of the writing, and the utility of the works, were two treatises, the one on the Suffragans of the Gallican Church, their Power and Dignity; and the other on the Respective Duties of Parents and Children, which originated in a conspiracy which at that time broke out in the royal family.[6] This accomplished scholar, who ranked high in the schools of his day for literary attainments, is indeed said to have been one of the most learned men of the age, both for sacred and profane literature.[7] He educated and brought up several who attained to some note in the literary world, among whom was Walafrid Strabo, a monk distinguished for his biographical works.

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[1] Maurus, Opera, tom. i. Antwerp, 1626.

[2] Raban. Maurus, de Inventi Linguarum et Hebræa usque ad Theodiscam Liber, a Goldasto edit. Rerum Alumannicar. tom. ii. Francof. 1606; de Arte Grammatica.

[3] Maurus, de Comput. a Baluz. edit. Miscel. tom. i. p. 1.

[4] Opera Mauri, tom. i. l. vi. 22, Antwerp. edit. 1626.

[5] De Anima et Virtut. ad Lotharium Regem Epist.

[6] Maurus, de Chorepiscopis de Rever. Fil. erga Parent. a Baluz. ad Calcem Operum, Petris de Marca, edit. Paris, 1669, fol. tom. i. p. 285; vid. Dempst. and Mackenzie.

[7] Trithem. Catal. Illus. Vir. p. 125.

The method of teaching adopted by these Scotchmen, who made any figure in the schools of France, Germany and Switzerland, was well calculated for the interest of the pupil, and the advancement of letters. As their age permitted, or their abilities seemed to direct, some were instructed in the rules of grammar; others in rhetoric and belles lettres; whilst the more advanced were conducted by their teachers into the deeper researches of human and divine philosophy. But what contributed chiefly to the interests of literature of every kind, was that laudable practice of committing to writing, either in prose or verse, the occurrences of the day.[1] By this exercise they acquired a facility of expression, and a neatness of diction, which was by no means contemptible among a people, who were little acquainted with the best models of heathen antiquity.

In the beginning of the ninth century, a violent prejudice was entertained against the Scottish clergy, because they regarded not papal ranks and distinctions, had no metropolitan, and lived more according to the primitive discipline and order of the church, than the clerical body in general.[2] The celibacy of the clergy, which was fraught with so many bad consequences, began early to make its appearance in the church, and was one of the most successful inventions of the spiritual hierarchy to extend its influence and authority over the people. Those of Britain were discouraged from engaging in matrimony in the sixth century;[3] and before the middle of the eighth,

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[1] Trithemius, Annal. Hirsang. tom. i. A. Appen.; Brucker, tom. iii.

[2] 5th Canon of the Council of Cealchythe, 816; Spelman Concil. tom. i. p. 331, 336.

[3] Gregory's first Response to the British churches.

it was strictly prohibited by the canons of the church, and every infringement of the law followed by disgrace. [1] But although, by the fanaticism of the times, this unpardonable crime was punished as severely as murder itself, [2] the ancient Gaelic Scots seem not to have dishonoured their nature, by the observation of this monkish invention. [3] Some ecclesiastics belonging to that nation, are indeed accused of having sons in adultery; [4] but it was long before the Culdees fell in with the observance. Several of the Scottish monks, who went over to France and Germany, began, in the ninth century, to imbibe the prevailing ideas about marriage, and the celibacy of the clergy. One of them gave it as his opinion, that a man might marry after the fifth relation of consanguinity. But if any marriages were solemnized within that degree, without the parties being aware that they were so nearly related, they might be allowed to continue in that state; but ought to be enjoined to do penance, and exhorted to abstain from the marriage bed. [5] When this innovation made its appearance in the Scottish church, the clergy were not permitted to keep their wives in their own houses, after they had entered the monastic establishment. Although, according to the usages of the Eastern church, they were permitted to marry, [6] they abstained from them, when it came to their turn to admini-

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[1] Exc. 160, p. 112; Canute, L. L. Eccl. 6, p. 301; Elfric's Canons, p. 250, vol. i., Concilia; et Conc. Ænham, p. 287.

[2] Edgar's Peniten. p. 92, leges.

[3] Aventin. Annal. l. iii.; et Epist. Zachar. ad Bonif. in tom. ii, Concil.; since Clement here says, that Boniface condemns the marriage of priests.

[4] Usserii Syllog. Epist. p. 46, 47.

[5] Maurus, Penitential; vid. Stewart, Antiq. Canisii apud Ingoest. edit. 1616, p. 635.

[6] Excerp. Reg. St. Andr.

ster in holy things;[1] but it was probably some considerable time after the union of the Scots and Picts, before celibacy found its way within the pale of the church. They dishonoured not their reason in the ninth century, by an implicit submission to the authority of the fathers. They adhered to the traditions of men,[2] that is, of their predecessors, who, by the most inveterate of their enemies, were not denied the epithet of sincere and pious Christians.[3]

After the death of Clement and Rabanus, the presbyterian form of religion had many supporters. Samson, a Scotchman, who was intimately acquainted with the former, and became bishop of Auxerre, was one of those who wrote against the superstition of the Apostolic See;[4] and carrying his zeal perhaps too far, accused Boniface as the father of lies, the corrupter of the Christian religion, both in word and deed, and one who sowed all the seeds of discord in the western church. This undaunted Christian had a firm adherent in John of Meilrose, who belonged to the same nation. He impugned the papal dogmas,[5] and adhered with Samson to the Greek church against the Roman hierarchy. But these presbyterian champions were never admitted to a fair trial, although they were prepared to confirm their assertions from the word of God;[6] but were excommunicated without a hearing,[7] and deposed from the priesthood.[8]

Meanwhile Foelocho,[9] or Faolon Mac Doirhene, was succeeded in the Abbey of Hyona by Kilian, surnamed

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[1] MS. Mylne; vid. Dalrymple's Collect. p. 244.
[2] Excerpt. Reg. St. Andr. [3] Bed. lib. iii. 25, 26.
[4] Epist. Zacharii ad Bonif. in tom. ii. Concil.
[5] Flaccus Illyricus Catal. Festium, tom. i. p. 634.
[6] Bern Lutzenburg, in Catal. [7] Flaccus Illyricus.
[8] Bern Lutzenburg. in Catalog. [9] Colgan, Triad Thaumaturg.

Largus.[1] Although none of the works of these abbots have survived the lapse of time, they appear nevertheless to have been considerable for their learning, in the day in which they lived.

The highly cultivated fields of Italy had been long before this time converted into morasses and bogs. In the course of the sixth and seventh century, the Lombards established themselves permanently in that country; and during their barbarous reign, the monuments of its ancient grandeur were left to moulder into dust, the fate of all sublunary things.[2] In the midst of this growing barbarism, the Christian religion was well nigh extinguished; and it was only owing to the simplicity of their lives, that some of its former professors were enabled to preserve their faith.[3] Some of the Scottish ecclesiastics, encouraged probably to settle in a country, where its ancient inhabitants were struggling against a barbarous people, their conquerors, emigrated to Italy, and became famous for their literary productions. Sedulius, who subscribed himself, at a council of Pope Gregory II,[4] "a British "bishop of Scottish descent," proceeded to Rome, together with Fergustus, in seven hundred and twenty.[5] The former became famous for two commentaries on the New Testament, the one on the Epistles of Paul, which was published at Rome in seven hundred and twenty-one,[6] the other on Matthew.[7] It appears from Father Simon, that he copied into these compilations the greater

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[1] Cillinus longus, in principatum Iæ successit. Ulster Annal. and Colgan, Triad Thaumaturg. [2] Opera St Gregorii.

[3] Epist. Agathon ad Imperat. apud Bar. Annal. Eccl. A. D. 680.

[4] Britanniæ Episcopus, et genere Scotorum.

[5] Vid. Phil. L'abbe Disser. De Script. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 334.

[6] Ex Pat. Scriptis consarcinatæ, Bazil 1528, in fol. et in Bib. Pat. tom. vi. p. 494.

[7] MSS. Extat. in Bib. Soc. Jesu Coll. d'Clermont; vid. M'Kenzie.

part of the Scholia of Pelagius, collected the interpretation of many commentaries; and although he frequently adhered to the literal sense of the text, yet with St Augustine he sometimes laid himself open to mystical interpretations. This is the reason why he is so often represented as being inconsistent with himself. Grammar, which was enumerated among the seven liberal arts of the middle ages, was not altogether neglected by the Scots; for some pieces of this kind were written by Sedulius.[1]

Coide had already been appointed to the Abbey of Hyona.[2] Since the time of Adamnan, who seems to have yielded in several instances to the rites and ordinances of the Romish church, particularly in regard to the term of keeping Easter, the Culdees were less scrupulous in admitting the innovations of that ambitious hierarchy. Adamnan seems never indeed to have been known by the name of bishop; but Coide arrogated to himself that title, contrary to the spirit of the Scottish church.[3] Books were then a scarce commodity in Scotland, as well as in other countries. It appears that the writings of Sedulius were highly appreciated by mankind, particularly his commentaries on the Epistles of Paul, which do not seem to have been tainted with the traditionary legends of the Romish see.[4] St Wilibald, who flourished about the same time,[5] had his education in his native country Scotland;[6] and for his piety, and the high opinion which

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[1] Grammatica Quædam Opuscula, MSS. in Bib. Thuana.

[2] Coide Episcopus Iæ Pausat, 711. Colgan, Triad Thaumaturga.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Suam memoriam nobis—siquis—aliquid pignus ei, quem diligit derelinquat,—possit ejus beneficia et amicitias recordari Tolan Nazaren, Let. ii. p. 23.

[5] A. D. 740.

[6] A Scotchman. Trithemius de Script. Eccl. p. 249; Johannes Frisius, Lib. Phil. p. 916.

Gregory III. entertained of him, he was sent into Germany by that Pontiff, to assist Boniface, bishop of Mentz, his countryman. [1] Although he was the author of several unimportant pieces, addressed to the Britons, Scots, and some Roman Pontiffs, his attention seems to have been directed, principally, to biography. Among other productions, he wrote the life of his coadjutor Boniface, which was published by Caniscus.

Learning was not then altogether confined to the religious and monastic orders. Those who were distinguished for their rank were educated in monasteries and religious establishments; and even kings, who had hitherto followed the pursuits of arms, did not think it beneath their notice. By means of their liberality, many were encouraged to enlist themselves in the cause; [2] and from being at first despised, learning was now crowned with the highest honours of the land, and led to affluence and rank. St Rumoldus was descended from the royal family of Scotland. [3] He built a monastery for the Canon Regulars of Mechlen, and was distinguished for a liturgy which he composed. [4] But of all these learned men, St Virgil was at this time the chief ornament of his country. Although his abilities have sometimes been overrated, by those who think that by so doing, they will add new laurels to their country; he deservedly acquired the name of learned, from the improvements which he made in geography and mathematics. Till the time of St Virgil, the earth was in general thought to be a plane, and the heavens supposed to join it in some part of India. [5] This monk, applying himself di-

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[1] Johannes Molanus in I. Maii in Addit. ad Usuard Gasper Bruschius, l. i. de Episcop.

[2] Vit St. Rumoldi ex Theod. Abbrit. S. Findonis apud Haræum, p. 491.

[3] Regiam Majestatem leges.

[4] The title was, St. Rumold. Martyrium Liturgi Antiana Acta.

[5] See Genesis and the Fables of the ancients.

ligently to the study of mathematics, and particularly to the writings of Ptolemy, affirmed that a great part of the earth was not yet discovered; that it was of a spherical form, and, consequently, that every nation had their antipodes. This notion, as was to be expected, was treated as a new heretical doctrine; and so cruelly was he persecuted by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, that he had well nigh lost his life for hazarding an opinion, which observation afterwards confirmed. His cotemporary, Bede, affirmed, I believe, the rotundity of the earth; but, notwithstanding the novelty of the opinion, he seems to have escaped persecution.[1] The German writers bear testimony, that St Virgil was an excellent mathematician, an accurate philosopher, and a good divine;[2] and so sensible was the city of Rome of his piety and merit, that he was canonized by Gregory IV. in the thirteenth century.[3]

Learning was undoubtedly on the decline, and had been so for several ages previously to this time. In many parts of France, there were no teachers to instruct the people in the rudiments of literature, much less masters to direct their talents and taste to proper objects.[4] The exertions of Charlemagne had led to the establishment of several seminaries of learning; and his efforts were, in some degree, crowned with success;[5] but there was still much to be done, in order to reclaim the country from barbarism. The successors of this prince, although they

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[1] Opera Bedæ, l. vi. p. 376; vol. ii. p. 125, edit. Colon. 1612.

[2] Velser, Canisius, Brunerus, &c.

[3] He wrote a book on the Antipodes, and his own defence against Boniface; but the only work of this writer that has survived the wrecks of time is a Glossary, quoted by Melchior Goldastus. Vid. Dempsterius and Mackenzie.

[4] Baronius, Annal. Eccl. 826.

[5] Apud Scrip. Rer. Ital. tom. i. p. 2; Baron. Annal. Eccl.

were not wanting in their efforts, to save their country from this imputation; yet much is laid to the charge of governors, during these inauspicious times.[1] His grandson, Charles the Bald of France, was an indulgent patron to many who were possessed of talent and celebrity, and a great admirer of Scottish literature.[2] Some of his predecessors had appointed teachers in many cities;[3] and, during his reign, many Scotchmen were induced to settle in France. Among these was St Macarius, who was probably led to leave his native country, by the encouragement held out to learned men from Scotland, by this prince.[4] While he remained in France, he revived the opinions of Faustus, bishop of Ries, "that our souls, as "well as our bodies, were material, and that God only "was incorporeal." It is curious to observe the distinction which was at this time made between the soul of man and the spirit of a brute. The images of bodies were supposed to be sensibly impressed on the cerebrum, both of men and animals; and knowledge was thought to form the only distinction, between the two species of created objects.

Scanty as are the ancient records of our country, our ancestors were not at this period altogether destitute of books. Their treasures of ancient lore, if they were not so numerous, were even richer than those of the continental nations; and in the end of the eighth, and the beginning of the ninth century, "many of the flowers "of Britain were transplanted into France."[5] So supe-

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[1] Apud Scrip. Rer. Ital. tom. i. p. 2.

[2] Gulielm. Malmesb. de Gest. Reg. Ang. l. ii.

[3] Apud Scrip. Rer. Ital. tom. i. p. 2.

[4] Mabillon, Sec. Bened. IV.

[5] Epist. Alcuin ad Charlemag.; vid. Gulielm. Malmesb. de Gest. Pont. August. lib. iii.

perior was Scotland at this time for learning, when compared with the other nations of Europe, that Hericus, in his dedication of his Life of Cæsarius to Charlemagne, compliments him on the number of learned men, who resorted to his court from that country. "Why do I speak "of Scotland?" says he, "that whole nation, almost de- "spising the dangers of the sea, resort to our country with "a numerous train of philosophers, of whom the most fa- "mous, abdicating their native soil, account themselves "happy under your favour, as the servants of the wise "Solomon." [1] This nation was greatly indebted to the clerical orders and monks, for her great renown in literature. They not only encouraged learning, but were themselves the instructors of the ignorant. The famous Conmæc was at this time at the head of the monastery of Hyona; and he not only promoted the interests of literature by personal instruction, but also by his writings. [2] The torch of persecution had already been lighted up in the land; many were persecuted for their religion; and some were even brought to the stake, and suffered martyrdom. Among his other works, Macarius left one monument to the memory of martyrs, where he commends those who sealed their testimony with their blood. [3] His labours seem also to have been extended to historical works; and among other productions, some of which are now lost, he wrote a book on the history of the Picts. [4]

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[1] Hericus, Vit. St. Cæsar. Printed at Paris 1543.

[2] Colgan, Triad. Thaumaturg. He died 786, 3d September.

[3] Eginhardus, Opera.

[4] He was the author of several Epistles to Pope Eugenius III. and his countrymen; but neither of these productions, nor his work, De Statu Animæ, are now extant. He was the first abbot of Wirtzburg. Trithemius in Chron. Monast.; Jac. Possovin. in Aparat. Sacr. p. 370.

Slevene was now raised to the abbey of Hy; and under the charge of this presbyter, who appears to have gone over to Ireland in his solicitude for the establishment of monasteries and schools,[1] several eminent men were brought up.[2] The love for the monastic life had the meanwhile increased, rather than abated. At first, those who courted solitude formed themselves into religious bodies, and lived in monasteries. Some few nunneries had also been erected, although these were generally united to the monastic establishments, and governed by an abbess or nun. But the rage for solitude was at this time so great, that some withdrew themselves altogether from the world, and lived as anchorites, or hermits, in solitary and unfrequented deserts.[3] Among the most distinguished of these for rank, was Loarn, probably a descendant of that royal house, who had retired from the bustle of the world, and died abbot of Cluona.[4] An institution of the same kind had been formed in the island of Bute, which is separated on the north from the peninsula of Cowal and Argyle. Cormach Mac Aillila, who became abbot of Bute about this period,[5] was a cotemporary with Murgaile Mac Inea, the abbot of Rechraine;[6] and both these presbyters, who died about the same time, laboured to plant the Gospel around their respective monasteries, and to instruct the youth in the arts and sciences. But among all the ecclesiastical and literary establishments, which adorned the

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[1] Slevene abbas Iæ in Hiberniam venit 733. Ulster Annal.

[2] Mors Slevenæ. Ulster Annal.

[3] Mors Killini Drochti anchoritæ Iæ. Ulster Annal. 751.

[4] Loarn abbas Cluon. quievit.

[5] Mors Cormach Mac Aillila abbatis monasterii Buti in 763 or 766. Ib.

[6] Quies Murgaile Mac Inea abbatis Rechraine, A. D. 768. Ib.

Scottish nation, Hyona still bore the most distinguished character; and the abbot of this institution was, by way of pre-eminence, styled Principatus. [1]

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[1] Bresel Mac Segenii ab. Aoi anno principatus sui 30, dormivit. Ulster Annal.

CHAP. VIII.

Philosophy. — Theology. — Transubstantiation. — Presbyterian forms.—Auricular confession.—Tonsure.—Altar.—Arianism.—Materiality of the soul. — Usages. —The efforts of the Scots against innovation.—Predestination.—The interpretation of Scripture.—Continental Scottish ceremonies.—Requisites of a clergyman.—The grammatical art.—The Priscian system.—Short notice of sciences.—History.—A comparison of the Scottish and Continental writers.

The principal tenets of philosophy, or theology, treated of in the works of the Scottish writers of this period, appear to have been borrowed from the Greeks. It was supposed that the universe was not only virtually, but essentially in God; that as omnipresence is an attribute belonging to the Deity, he pervaded all space from all eternity.[1] It was from thence affirmed, "that all things were God, "and God all things;" that when he created nature, he was in all things, and became the essence of his own created works.[2] The universe was believed to be both eternal and created. Nature and all her works was divided into that which creates, and is not created,—that which is created, and creates, — that which is created, and doth create,—and that which neither creates, nor is created. As every thing proceeded from God as its original source, when there was no being in existence but God alone; in like manner it was supposed, that all things would be again resolved into him, when the world shall come to an

[1] Jo. Scotus Erigina, de Divisione Naturæ, lib. v. p. 232.
[2] Ibid. p. 42, 112, 128.

end; an event which, in these early times, was distinguished by the name of Deification. [1]

These opinions seem to have originated in the Greek philosophy, and were received by the western churches with profound admiration. The works of Dionysius, a philosopher belonging to that country, were, in the ninth century, translated by Scotus from Greek into Latin, at the request of Charles the Bald of France, because this language was then little understood in Gaul. So ignorant were the Franks and Gauls of this century, that this was supposed to be the book of Dionysius, the Areopagite, on the Divine Names and Celestial Hierarchy. He was the pretended apostle of the Franks; and, on this account, the translation gave no small offence to his Holiness the Pope, because it was not sent for his approbation. [2] This production of the Scottish pen, commanded, as was to be expected, the attention of the world, and particularly of the western churches. It was matter of no small astonishment, that a barbarian, placed at the extremity of the world, as remote from the conversation of men as from books of knowledge, and, it would seem, of a foreign language, should have been able to understand and translate the writings of a Greek father. [3] Anastasius, the famous bibliothecan, was also conversant in the Greek language, but had made no such progress, as to be able to translate any of these worthies. So incredible, indeed, did the circumstance appear to the world, that it was supposed to be the work of the Divine Spirit, which first inflamed the mind of Erigina with the love of virtue, and then bestowed upon him the gift of tongues. [4]

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[1] Jo. Scotus Erigina; de Divisione Naturæ, lib. v. 232, Gale's edit.

[2] Aub. Miræus ad Gemblacen, c. 93, p. 104.

[3] Anastasius, vid. Bibl. Lat. Med. Ætat.

[4] Brucker, tom. iii.; Anastasius; vid. Bibl. Ætat. Med.

It appears from the number of Scottish churches which were dedicated to the Holy Trinity,[1] that this nation withstood the Papal innovations, and kept themselves clear of the idolatrous practices of the Latin priesthood. The Scottish church seems to have been exempted from many of those corruptions and errors which had crept into that hierarchy. But even this church was not without its faults and absurdities. While the British, Gallican, and Western churches admitted the doctrine of transubstantiation, in which the elements of the Eucharist were supposed to be changed into the real body and blood of Christ, the Scottish ecclesiastics denied the real presence. When our Saviour, speaking of the sacraments of the last supper, commanded his followers "to do this in re-"membrance of me," the Scots believed that he left only a memorial of himself, in order that they might bear in mind the benefits and dying love of their best friend.[2]

It seems to have been a tenet of belief, both in the eastern and western churches, that our Saviour was present in the Eucharist. But till the time of Paschasius, in the eighth or ninth century, theologians never asserted that it was the same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, that was visibly present.[3] This monk, however, boldly affirmed, that no man ought to doubt, that it is the body of Jesus Christ, and his flesh and blood, that is really present in the Eucharist,—since, by the eating of this bread, some were to receive death, and others life.[4]

Many eminent and learned men did not allow their

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[1] Charter of Malcolm IV. The Abbey of Dunkeld, Dalrymple's Collect. p. 247; The Monastery of Dunfermline, ibid.; vid. Caledonia, p. 430; Reg. Sconeus, Dalrymple's Collect. p. 312, 371.

[2] Sedulius, Comment. in 1 Corin. xi. 24; vid. Toland, Nazar. Let. p. 23, Suam memoriam nobis reliquit; si quis possit ejus beneficia et amicitias recordari. [3] F. Mabillon, Secul. Bened. IV. [4] Ibid.

credulity to go so far; and although they admitted that our Saviour was actually present, yet denied that the elements were his real body and blood. Some maintained that there was no veil or mystery, but that it was a plain manifestation. Others, on the contrary, supposed that the body and blood of our Saviour were included under the figure of the mystery; and a third party were divided among themselves, whether it was the real body that was crucified and rose again, which is received in the elements of bread and wine. The Scots, however, conceived that the bread and wine, which were said to be the body and blood of Christ, were bread and wine outwardly in form, colour and taste, but were, nevertheless, inwardly, the representation of the body and blood of our Saviour; that they indeed came under the view of our external senses, but are received and eaten with faith, and seen by the eye of the soul. [1] For this reason, the Saxons, who were converted by the Scots, [2] enacted some canons against it. [3] They debased not their understandings by admitting such a doctrine, but condemned it as a piece of human invention; and, with one consent, both agreed that it ought to be invalidated by every possible means. [4]

The Culdees neither paid tithes, nor first fruits. They entered into lawful marriage, because they were not ordained by the followers of the Latin church, according to the Romish rites. [5] It is evident, from ancient writings, that even in the eighth and ninth centuries, the Scottish clergy preserved the privileges of their order, against the

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[1] Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini, 1558, 1560, 1553, et London, 1686, 8vo. [2] Petri, Hist. p. 378, 379.

[3] Canon of Elfric, Leges, p. 159.

[4] Binn. Conc. iii. 195; ap. Seld. Præf. Dec. Scrip. xiii.

[5] St Bernard, Vit. Malach. c. 6; ap. Messingham, p. 3, 571.

Catholic bishops, who had by this time subjected the whole western empire to the Romish see. They still received the emblems of their ministry from presbyters; and if we except Wini, who seems to have been ordained according to the forms of the Latin church, there was not at that time a single bishop, canonically ordained, in all Britain.[1] Many of those, who were denominated Bishops, as we have already seen, had no parishes, or fixed places of abode in the eighth century; since the Scottish nation was at that time more engaged in missions, than any other kingdom, perhaps on the face of the earth. For this reason, the validity of their ordination was frequently called in question, by those who lived under a different form of church government.[2] In the ninth century, they set aside for the ministry, presbyters and deacons;[3] those whom the Archbishop of Canterbury called "false bishops."[4] This ceremony was accomplished without the licence of their lords and superiors,[5] who discharged episcopal functions to the people; although, according to the Romish opinions, they had received from no one the imposition of hands.[6] Some of the councils of Chalons in France condemned this ordination; because, for the most part, it agreed with the Samian heresy, and was subject to error.[7]

The Scots rejected auricular confession, and the sacrament of confirmation,[8] as well as authoritative absolution;

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[1] Beda, Hist. Eccl. speaking of Cedda.

[2] Binn. Concil. iii. 398; Seld. Præf. Dec. Scrip. xiii.

[3] Bin. Conc. Cabilon. vel Calon. iii. 195. A. D. 813, ap. Seld. Præf. Dec. Scrip. viii.

[4] Pater Blesensis ap. Seld. Præf. Dec. Scrip. xv.

[5] Binn. Conc. iii. 495, ap. Seld.

[6] Peter Blesensis, ibid. [7] Bin. Concil. ibid.

[8] Usum—Confessionis, Sacramentum Confirmationis Malachius (in the twelfth cent.) instituit St. Bernard, in vit. Malach. c. 2 and 6, ap. Messingham, p. 357.

because they believed God alone could forgive sins.[1] Neither would the clergy, at that time, have prescribed such observances, nor the laity have submitted to them.[2]

Many rules of catholic observance were introduced into the Anglican church, in the eighth century; but the Scots, rather than conform to these, or fall in with the superstitions of the Romish see, chose rather, for the most part, to return to their own country.[3] The monks of Rippon, who had it in their choice to adhere to the Roman tenets, and form of church government, or take their departure, broke up their monastery, in imitation of these Scottish presbyters,[4] and left the place. So tenacious were the Scots and Britons, whom the former converted to the Christian religion, of their rites and usages, that they refused to eat with the apostolic emissaries of the church of Rome. They even carried this prejudice so far, that they would not take a repast in the same house where they were entertained, as if they had been excommunicated, or thrown under an interdict.[5] The Scots, as they believed the faith and religion of the Romish church to be contrary to the Scriptures, and despised their apostolic decrees, held no more communication with them, than they would have done with the heathen.[6] Although this strong prejudice, in the course of time, was somewhat softened down, they seem stoutly to have maintained their doctrine and modes of worship in the eighth and ninth centuries.[7]

The Culdees appear, indeed, to have admitted the tonsure into their church. But although this papal form had

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[1] Toland Nazaren, l. ii. p. 24.
[2] Bernard Abb. de Clairvaux in vit. Malach. c. 6; ap. Messingham, p. 357.
[3] Bed. l. iii. c. 29. [4] Bed. l. v. c. 19.
[5] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 4.
[6] Samson, Virgilius, Nanclerus et Aventin. Bern. Lutzenburg in Catal.
[7] Ibid.

found its way into England, as early as the middle of the sixth century, it was not till two centuries afterwards, that it was introduced into Scotland. [1] Notwithstanding this innovation, the simplicity of the Scottish church was very striking, when compared with the affected pomp of the Roman and British ecclesiastics. These priests and monks, who paid more attention to outward ceremonies than the interests of religion, are said to have worn, upon all public meetings, a mitre, gloves and ring, with a cross, crosier, and sandals, or slippers, like the bishops. [2]

But however far the Continental clergy may have degenerated, in these particulars, from the simplicity of their forefathers in Caledonia, the Scottish Culdees seem to have had no altar in their church. Instead of placing the oblations on the altar, from whence the elements were dispensed, [3] they celebrated their ordinances after their own manner, in a certain very small corner of the church, [4] despising the pageantry of the choir, the crosier, and the ring. No respect was paid to holy relics, or the celebration of mass, with the burning taper, for these things formed no part of their creed. [5] Their sacrament of baptism was not administered by deacons before the altar, according to the practice observed in the Romish church. They performed this ordinance in the first water that they approached, [6] by immersion, without the consecrated crism. [7] They placed no confidence either in works of supererogation, or the superfluities of grace, which were

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[1] Vid. Jamieson's App. ad Bed. Opera, N. 9, p. 713.

[2] Keith's Catalogue, p. 237; vid. Jamieson's Culdee History, p. 251, 4to. [3] Baluzius, tom. i. c. 98. [4] Reg. Excerpt. St. Andr.

[5] Ibid. [6] Bed. Hist. Eccl.

[7] Lanfranc, Epist. ad Fordelvachium Regem Hiberniæ; vid. Nazaren. Let. ii. p. 22.

purchased from the confessor or priest with money; but readily denied all merit of their own, and depended solely for salvation on the mercy of God, through the merits of a Saviour.[1] They neither prayed to saints, nor the dead, nor offered up masses for the souls of the departed.[2] It was a tenet of belief firmly entertained by the Scots, that as long as we continue in the present world, we may assist one another either by prayers or advice; but when we come before the tribunal of Christ, neither Daniel nor Noah may intercede for a friend nor a brother.[3]

Arianism, although it was imputed to some of those Scots, who went abroad and joined the episcopal order; yet it seems even doubtful, if the party accused was guilty of this heresy.[4] In the fourth century, the Platonic philosophy was held in great esteem. Arius, the founder of the sect, being well skilled in human literature and metaphysics, undertook to explain the mysteries of the Trinity; and, in a little time, gained many clergymen, as proselytes to his opinions.[5] It appears, from the confession of faith made by Arius, that he denied the Son to be of the same essence with the Father; that is, that he existed from all eternity. He was of opinion, that God the Father begot his only Son before all ages, and by him created the world; that he was truly and really begotten, and not a projection of the Father, as Valentinian calls him; nor a consubstantial part, as Manes supposes; or the Father, according to Sabellius. Neither would Arius allow the relation of these two persons of the Trinity, to

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[1] Non fidem videre ex justicia, sed justum ex fide. Claudius in Galat. 3; vid. Nazaren. p. 25, 26; Dr Jamieson's Proofs.

[2] Avantin. Annal. lib. iii.; et Epist. Zachar. ad Bonif. in tom. ii. Concil. [3] Claudius, in Galat. 6. [4] Simon, vol. iii. p. 333, and 366.

[5] Epiphanes, de Heres.

be compared to a flambeau divided into two, which was the opinion of Hericus, but maintained that he existed not before he was begotten and became his son. These opinions he must have gathered from the writings of Plato, the heathen philosopher, who believed that there were three hypostases, or substances, corresponding to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; that the Father existed before the Son, although the Son was created before all ages.[1] Arius was condemned by several councils and many bishops, and accused of bringing forward numerous passages from Scripture, for proving that the Son was inferior to the Father, which were only to be understood of his humility.[2]

During these tumults, which happened among the clergy, with respect to the doctrines of this presbyter, the people began to interest themselves in his opinions, and the party increased.[3] The symbol or creed of the Arians, now subscribed by them, shews that the Son was one in his nature; "that he was the word, the power, the sole "wisdom of the Father, the lustre of his glory, and the "character of his power."[4] But soon after this they were condemned, because they said that the Son existed before he was begotten.[5] The Scottish clergy seem not to have been tainted with the Arian heresy, but, on the contrary, the church found in them its most strenuous advocates, against these innovations in religious opinions, not only in the seventh century,[6] but in succeeding ages. Although Clement, in the eighth and ninth centuries, is

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[1] Arius, Epist.; vid. Epiphanius de Hæres. 69.
[2] Epist. apud Theod. l. i. c. 4.
[3] Eusebius, Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 4.
[4] Zozimus, lib. i. c. 17, 19.
[5] Theod. l. xii. c. 12.
[6] Liber Columb. contra Arian.; vid. Waræus.

accused of Arianism, he seems rather to have vindicated the Divinity of our Saviour, in his other works,[1] if he wrote in defence of this sect.[2]

The doctrine of the materiality of the soul was revived in the ninth century, by one of those Scots, who was probably induced to leave his native country, from the encouragement which was held out to the learned of that nation, on the Continent. If we may judge from the work written by Martus, on the Immortality of the Soul, whom Macarius, the author of this opinion, opposed; one argument which he made use of consisted in this, that every thing which was incorporeal was uncreated; that as the soul was breathed into man by an all-powerful Creator, it must, consequently, be material. In the writings of this Scotsman,[3] and Faustus, bishop of Ries, we find not only the principles on which Mamertius and Bertram built their system,[4] but also the source and reasoning from whence the famous Des Cartes drew his proofs, for the immortality of the soul. The seat of the soul is the body, where it was supposed to exist in a certain place. Extension and parts were consequently ascribed to it; and it was concluded to be corporeal. The soul is locally moved, when any part of the body is put in motion, that is, by means of reaction, which is necessary in producing this change; and hence, like matter, it was thought to be divisible. The union of the soul and body is so intimate, that the latter was supposed to be indispensably necessary to the former, in its mental operations. It was an ancient

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[1] Vid. Simon, vol. iii. p. 353-361.

[2] M. du Pin, Nouvel. Bib. Eccl. tom. vii. p. 3.

[3] Mamertius, vid. M. du Pin, Eccl. tom. iii. part ii. p. 284.

[4] Vid. Mamertius, de Anima, against whom he wrote; M. du Pin, Nouv. Bib. des Aut. Eccl. tom. iii. part ii. p. 224.

opinion, that the images of objects produce thought; that we could never remember any thing, if these images were not impressed upon the brain;[1] an argument which was brought forward by this writer. Such were the false principles upon which Macarius built the materiality of the soul, and the quibbling sophistry by which he turned aside the arguments of his opponents; and it was probably to his knowledge of the ancient Greek and Latin writers that he was indebted for this art.

The Christian religion began now to be much corrupted; and not only were the Scriptures in many places misinterpreted, but the worship of the true God was mixed up with heathen ceremonies. That idolatrous practice of worshipping images became more general in the end of the fourth century. The Christians in the East gave sensible representations of sacred history, and the conflicts of martyrs, in order to instruct the ignorant who could not read, and inspire them with a zeal for the service of their God. But the people soon transferred the homage due to the Creator, to these ghostly martyrs and saints. Although the Emperor Leo Isaurus, together with some of his successors, broke down these idols in the East; yet they were still worshipped in the Western empire, and again set up by the Council of Nice, in the end of the eighth century.[2] About the same time these superstitions found their way into England; and adoration was usually paid, and prayers offered up, to images and the cross.[3] But several of the most eminent of the Scottish nation, protesting against the proceedings of this council,

[1] Vid. Mamertius de Anima.

[2] M. du Pin, des Aut. Eccl. vol. vi, vii, viii; Mackenzie's Lives of the Scots.

[3] Malmesb. f. 12, 13; Bed. Hist. Eccl. p. 10. "Adorat crucem."—Leges Elfric. p. 159.

which revived idolatry, took up the pen against it, supported their opinions by the unerring word of truth, and successfully combated every position assumed by their opponents.

The Scots seem to have rejected the opinion of those, who were for abolishing images altogether; because they were ornaments introduced by the ancient fathers, as a remembrance of things past. But they gave them not that worship which was offered to idols, since they accounted it impious and superstitious, to abuse their nature by such an unworthy service. The Scots, Britons, and Germans, seem to have taken a middle course between the contending parties of the Eastern and Western empires, with regard to image worship, and continued for a time not to debase their nature, by this unreasonable service.[1] The Gallican church maintained, for a time, the same sentiments, although it yielded long before the Scottish nation to this practice. The advocates of Christianity among the latter, who opposed this growing superstition, appealed to the Holy Scriptures and the fathers for their authority. Being content with what they found in the gospel and the writings of the Apostles, and instructed by the works of the fathers, who had not swerved from the worship of Him, who is the way, the truth and the life; they received the first six councils, and rejected the novelties, both of the first and second synod. They thought themselves bound to write against these, and expose their fallacy. And if the writings of those, who advocated the cause of image worship, tended to bewilder the understanding, and pollute the heart of those who read them; their salutary observations were meant as an antidote, to counteract this baneful influence, on the

[1] Spelman, ad Consilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. i. p. 73.

moral conduct of men.[1] The Scots not only confuted the decrees of the Nicine council, the opinions of Theodimirus, and other supporters of image worship; but also wrote against the intercession and invocation of saints. They disclaimed the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, pilgrimages to Rome, and a veneration for relics, which began by this time to manifest itself in the church;[2]—practices which were not only common in the Eastern and Latin empires, but had also found their way into England in the eighth and ninth centuries.[3]

It was a matter involving some doubt with the Scottish divines, whether God created the soul, and afterwards placed it in the body, or whether it was merely an emanation from the souls of the parents. But they were not in general so much tainted with the superstition of the times, as the ecclesiastics of other nations, and were very cautious in applying to magicians, sorcerers, or fortune-tellers, either for the cure of any distemper, or the recovery of what had been stolen.[4] Although these Scottish ecclesiastics, who had gone abroad, and were dispersed through other nations, were not much given to superstition,[5] yet they permitted prayers to be put up for the souls of the departed, contrary to the practice of their own church.[6]

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[1] Caralinos dictos, de cultu imaginum, Paris 1549, 8vo, written by Albin, at the request of Charlemagne.

[2] Libellus de Cult. Imag. Franc. 1608, 8vo, by Clement, now lost. Vid. Jonas et Dungallus de Cult. Imag.

[3] Reic's Exc. I, and Cealchy, Canon 11, A. D. 806, et Cuthbert, et Cloveshoo Canon 16. Jewish Sabbath; Bed. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 7; Alfred, LL. 36; Eddius, c. 47. Invocation of Saints, Canon 23 and 29, p. 272 and 275, v. 1. Concilia.

[4] Rabanus de Magor. Prestigiis, lib. ad Bonosum; vid. Mackenzie and Dempsterius, H. Scot. Gent.

[5] Rabanus Maurus Epist. ad Reginbaldum Chorepiscopum.

[6] Raban. Maur. Epist. ad Ibid. Edita sunt Concil. tom. viii. p. 184, 5.

The presbyterians asserted the free agency of man, against the continental writers. Although they agreed that predestination was a doctrine of Scripture; yet it was thought to impose no necessity upon the choice, or the freedom of man. But the term was not admitted in the fullest extent of its meaning; since sin, and its consequent punishments, were mere privations, supposed neither to be foreseen, nor predestinated. Like Pelagius, the author of these opinions, they admitted that God had only preordained to eternal happiness. The torments of the damned were supposed to be mere privations of happiness; and material fire, the element through which the bodies of the wicked had to pass.[1] In many parts of the church, it was believed, that there were two kinds of predestination, the one, of the elect to eternal happiness, and the other, of the reprobate to damnation. The Scots admitted that God has decreed to punish the wicked with eternal death, because of their sin; but this they did not call predestination; lest it should be thought God was the author of sin, or that he predestinates some to eternal death, and constrains them to suffer the penalty due to their crimes.[2] They followed the Greek church in softening those expressions, which made God the author of sin. As they believed the Almighty only permits it; they affirmed, that he predestinates merely in consequence of his foreknowledge, but not without reference to the future conduct of men.[3]

It appears, from some rules laid down by Rabanus Maurus, a native of Scotland, that in metaphorical and figura-

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[1] Johannes Scotus Erigina de Prædest. Dei, tom. i. p. 104.

[2] Raban. Maurus de gente Scottorum. Epist. ad Hincmarium.

[3] Ibid. et Collectan. in Evan de Math. MSS. Extat. in Bib. Soc. Jesu Collegii de Clermont.

tive passages, the ecclesiastics of that nation abstained from the literal meaning of the words, which proved a stumbling block to the Jews; and likewise from the profane ceremonies of the Gentiles. They confined their observations to the simple ordinances of our Saviour, the sacrament of baptism, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. There are precepts in the Scripture addressed to mankind in general, and some that relate to each state in particular. With regard to the observances laid down in the Old Testament, such as the polygamy of the Patriarchs, and the costly ritual of the Jews, they did not, like some other nations, consider them incumbent upon Christians.[1] It was, probably, upon this wise maxim, that the purity and simplicity of the Scottish church was founded; and although it was not altogether without superstition, yet the church government of that nation was less imposing, than that of England, or any of the Latin or Eastern churches, and the gradations of its ministers less numerous.

The continental ecclesiastics belonging to the Scottish nation were more tainted with corruption, than the clergy of their mother church. They had departed farther from the simplicity of ancient times, both in point of doctrine and church government. They were there admitted into the church by shaving the crown of the head, and known from their lay brethren, by a circle of hair hanging over their temples, which was the distinguishing badge of the Christian priesthood. The ecclesiastical order consisted of eight distinct classes of men,—the porter, quirister or reader, and exorcist; the acolythus, the sub-deacon, deacon, priest, and bishop; besides the suffragan, the pa-

[1] Rabanus Maurus de Cleric. Institut. et Cerem. Eccl. l. iii; ad Haistulph. A. D. 819.

triarch, the archbishop, metropolitan, and pope.[1] But the Scottish Culdees, on the contrary, were, in the ninth century, either presbyters or monks; lay, or ecclesiastical members of the church. They had no metropolitan, or papal ranks, but lived upon an equality, according to the scriptural simplicity of former times.[2] Those who had left Caledonia, especially those of Germany and France, adhered to the errors of the Scottish church, and observed celibacy, and the sacrament of Crism, which were both human inventions, introduced during its dark ages. They enjoined penance and absolution, offered up masses for the dead, protected the sick from the illusions of the devil by salt and water, and pretended to confer the Holy Ghost, by the imposition of a bishop's hand, and the sacred oil.[3] But superstitious, as many of them were, they did not debase their reasonable nature so much, as some of their controversial opponents. Many of these, as a test of the truth, made offer to pass through vessels of scalding water, pitch, or flaming oil; an expedient, which was rejected by them, as being more cruel than convincing.[4]

The ancient purity and simplicity of the church was obscured by these innovations of a superstitious age. But there were, notwithstanding, many accomplishments requisite to constitute a priest. It was incumbent for those in holy orders to be acquainted with the languages, in which the books of the Holy Scriptures were originally written. By these means they were enabled to compare the Sep-

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[1] Avurus de Universo, l. 22, the book F.

[2] 5th Canon of the Council of Cealchythe 816; Spelman, Concil. t. i. p. 331, 336. For the abbots are resolved into these two distinctions.

[3] Rabanus Maurus, de Univers. lib. i, published by Baluzius.

[4] Maurus, de Prædest. Dei, contra Gotteschalcum, a Jac. Surmondo, edit. Paris, 1669, fol. t. i. p. 288.

tuagint with the Hebrew copies of the Old Testament, and the Greek with the Latin translation of the new. It was also necessary that they had a knowledge of those herbs, plants, and animals, which were made use of in comparison and scriptural metaphor; the eastern manners, in order that they might be able to understand the meaning of those tropes and figures, so frequently to be met with in the sacred writings; as well as a knowledge of numbers and music.[1] The other sciences were also considered to be indispensably necessary to the biblical critic; logic, mechanics, history, rhetoric, and astronomy,[2] upon each of which the Scottish writers distinguished themselves.[3] But mythology and painting, which were now considerably improved, were deemed superfluous accomplishments to the theologian.[4]

The grammatical art was, about this time, revived by some Scotsmen. Although, in the eighth century, we find a Treatise upon Grammar, besides the discoveries of St Virgil, it was little else than an extract of what Priscian had written.[5] Astronomy, which is included in the Quadrivium, a branch of the sciences which was at this period hardly touched upon by the Latin writers, or those of the Eastern empire, was also taught by a learned Scot, with method and order. All that related to days, months,

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[1] Rab. Maurus, de Institut. et Cerem. Eccl. l. iii. Vid. M. du Pin, Bib. Eccl. tom. vii. p. 162, and Mackenzie's Lives.

[2] Maurus, de Instit. et Cerem. Eccl. l. iii.

[3] Rab. Maurus, Poetry, Logic, Grammar, Morals, Astronomy, Music, Chronology, Trithemius, Catal. Illus. Vir. p. 125; Clement, Theology; Johan. Scotus, Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic Languages, Theology, Geometry, and Astronomy, Annal. Winchester; the division of nature, Greek and Latin Syntax, Ibid.; Columbanus, Poetry, Controversial Works; and a numerous train of other writers in different ages of the church.

[4] Maurus, de Instit. et Cerem. Eccl. l. iii.

[5] Excerpta de Gram. Priscian, Rab. Maurus, tom. i. Antwerp, 1626.

years, epacts and cycles, on which the time of keeping Easter, and many other festivals, depended, was by him rendered more intelligible and clear.[1] This art was greatly advanced by means of the controversies in the church regarding festivals. It is evident, indeed, that the whole arts and sciences of the middle ages were only cultivated by the clerical and monkish orders, and, at the same time, rendered subservient to the study of the Holy Scriptures. From these controversies proceeded discoveries of the greatest importance. They not only tended to impress on the minds of men more deeply the doctrines of the Christian religion, misinterpreted as they sometimes were, but produced several treatises on Mathematics, particularly one on the Computation of Time, written by Gildas, which is still extant.[2]

The historical art had been but little attended to, previously to this time. Biographical sketches were indeed very common; and the lives of saints were attempted by almost every one, who had any pretensions to this department of learning. But historical productions were of very rare occurrence. In the ninth or tenth century, however, a considerable work was written on Ancient History, upon the authority of Greek and Roman authors. This interesting production, which was interspersed with some account of the armour, arts, manners, dress and superstitions of the ancient Scots, is still extant, in the ancient Gaelic characters.[3]

Were we now to draw a parallel, between the Scottish writers in the eighth century, and those on the continent,

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[1] Miscel. Maur. Opera, tom. i. de Univers. Libr. published by Baluzius; H. de Instit. et Cerem. de Eccl.

[2] Gildas, de Computatione MSS. in the Cottonian library.

[3] It belongs to the Highland Society of Scotland. Vid. Report on Ossian's Poems, Append. p. 305.

the former would not be found inferior, in point of real learning. The greatest part of the high renown of German, bishop of Constantinople, is due to his violent zeal for image worship. Even John Damascenus, who explained the Peripatetic philosophy, and the principal doctrines of the Christian religion, and who surpassed all his cotemporaries among the Greeks and Orientals, was tainted with a sordid superstition, and an excessive veneration for the fathers.[1] These, the Scottish authors of this age seem, in a great measure, to have excluded from their writings, when they were not consistent with reason or revelation. That book on Image Worship, which is one of the principal productions, attributed to the Emperor Charlemagne, to whom the first place is due among the Latin writers, we have seen to be the production of a Scotchman. The work of St Virgil on the Antipodes, which met with so much unmerited opposition from Boniface, another of the more respectable Latin authors, and Gildas, on the Computation of Time, shew how superior the Scots were to them, in the science of mathematics and astronomy.

That the Caledonians distinguished themselves in these times of ignorance, by the culture of the sciences, beyond any other European nation, appears from the number of those, who travelled through the most distant parts of France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland, for the purpose of communicating their knowledge, and the variety of monasteries and schools of learning, which they set up in these countries. The seven liberal arts, Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy were, in the eighth century, divided into the Trivium and Quadri-

[1] Mosheim, Hist. Eccl.

vium.[1] These sciences were so much admired by our ancestors, that they imagined they comprehended all wisdom and learning, and were competent to the solution of every difficulty. The man who became master of the Trivii, the first three, was supposed capable of explaining every book without a teacher. But he who was still more learned, and understood the Quadrivium, could answer all questions, and unfold every secret in nature.[2]

In the knowledge of language, some of the Scottish divines were far superior to any of the continental scholars.[3] They were among the first, who devoted their attention to the study of etymology, or the affinity of languages.[4] Aldhelma, the scholar of Macdulf, was the first inhabitant in South Britain who wrote in Latin, as we have already seen; and he appears to have composed a book on the prosody of that language.[5] Some of the scholars of Theodore and Adrian made such progress in the Greek and Latin languages during the eighth century, that they spoke it as fluently as their native tongue.[6] But natural and experimental philosophy formed no part of their studies, at this time. Although the principles of morals, the reasonable faculties of man, and his perceptive powers, were sometimes explained by the Scottish metaphysicians, they seem hardly to have regarded moral philosophy as a science.[7] They indeed submitted to the usages of the church of Rome, and imbibed some of the superstitious

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[1] Cassidorus Marcianus Capella Encyclopædia. *Gram.* loquitur, *Dia.* vera docet, *Rhet.* verba colerat; *Mus.* canit, *Ar.* numerat, *Geo.* ponderat, *Ast.* colit astra. Bruckerii, Philos. t. iii. p. 597.

[2] Joan. Salis. Metalog. l. i. c. 12.

[3] Scotus Erigina, who translated the works of Dionysius.

[4] Rabanus Maurus. [5] Cave, Hist. Literat. A. D. 680.

[6] Beda, Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 2.

[7] Brucker, Hist. Philosoph. tom. iii. p. 599.

tenets of that sect. But they manfully withstood, for a long time, the growing superstitions of the dark ages, and were the last nation in Europe, to yield to them, and quit the field. It was not till the eleventh or twelfth century that the Scots submitted to the see of Rome. For a long time, they adhered to the same doctrine as Peter of Lyons, who strenuously opposed the errors of the church of Rome, and thus differed, not only from the Cisalpine, but the universal church. They are said afterwards to have received the mandate of Pope Innocent; and in the twelfth century, submitted to his Legate, [1] probably John of Crema, who was the first that was sent in this capacity. But being apprehensive of the reception which he would meet with, he ventured only to approach the Scottish border. [2]

In the greater part of the schools on the Continent, the public teachers advanced no farther than the Trivium. But we have already observed several productions of Scotchmen in the Quadrivium, on Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy, in which they made some new discoveries. They were the first teachers of the Scholastic Theology in Europe; and as early as the eighth century, illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy. [3] It appears that the Scottish divines made use of a certain sophistical syllogism, to demonstrate that the persons in the Godhead were substances. "You must either," say they, "affirm, or deny, that the three persons in the Deity "are three substances. If you affirm it, you are undoubt-

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[1] Richar. Hagustald. de Bell. Standardi, p. 325.

[2] Vid Jamieson's Culdees. [3] This is exemplified in the writings of Benedict, Abbot of Aniane, in the province of Languedoc, who lived in this century; some of which are published by Baluzius in the fifth volume of his Miscellanea. Apud modernos scholasticos, (i. e. public teachers or schoolmasters) maxime apud Scotos est, syllogismus delusionis; id dicant trinitatem, sicut personarum, ita esse substantiarum.

" edly a Tritheist, and worship three Gods. If you deny it, " this denial implies, that they are not three distinct per- " sons; and thus you fall into Sabellianism." [1] In this manner the Scottish theologians puzzled and tormented their adversaries, by this new mode of reasoning, " which " seems more ancient than many have believed." [2]

John Damascenus's " Complete Body of Christian Doc- " trine, " consisting of four books, concerning the orthodox faith, received its highest applause among the Greeks, from the scholastic and didactic theology, with which it abounded. He explained the doctrine by means of subtile and profound reasoning, upon the authority of the ancient fathers. But if the high admiration, with which it was received among the Greeks, as the only rule of divine truth, [3] arose from the scholastic theology, with which this work abounded, the praise is due to the Scots, from whom they borrowed it.

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[1] Benedict. Opera; vid. Baluzius, vol. i.

[2] Vid. Dr M'Laine's Notes on Mosh. cent. viii. p. 256.

[3] Vid. Mosheim. cent. 8. vol. ii. p. 259.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

THE derivation of the word Scot, has been a much agitated question among the learned; and so far does it appear from ever being satisfactorily accounted for, that some, *Mr Pinkerton*, vol. ii. p. 15; *Innes, Critical Essay*, p. 4, have derived it from Scyth, because *Nennius*, c. 10, through some inaccuracy, uses Scottii for Scotti, a term which was again corrupted into Scithæ and Scythæ. But in the body of his history they are uniformly denominated Scotti. *Gildas*, c. 15, speaks of Scythica vallis, which has rightly been corrected, in Dr Gale's edition of that ancient British historian, into "Tithica vallis." Upon these two mistakes, both the nations of the Scyths and Scots have been denominated "*y*-Scot." *See the Celtic Grammar, Camden, Scoti*; *y*, the Celtic article "*the*," added to Scot. It is very generally admitted, *by Mr Pinkerton and Mr Innes*, &c. that the name is not derived from the Scots and Irish themselves, in whose ancient language it was never in use; nor is it commonly made use of by the Highlanders of Scotland in their conversation at the present day; but appears to have been a foreign denomination given them by the Romans; *Josephus*. "*Scotia*." *Ammianus Marcellinus first makes use of Scotia*, lib. 20. Surius. Bozius insignis Eccles. lib. viii. c. 1. A. D. 434; Claudian, Theodoricus, Hieronymus,

&c. Some authors, upon the remote analogy between Scot and Scyth, have endeavoured to prove, that the Scots came from Scandinavia, a country, in language, manners and customs, as much at variance with that of the Scots, as any perhaps in the world. Another modern writer, *Mr Pinkerton*, vol. ii. p. 45, 146, from the same analogy of name, would have them to be Belgæ, and Goths of Ireland; and in order to support this opinion, he makes a supposition that they had there lost their language, among the Celts, long before the birth of Christ. This appears indeed plausible. But when we have the testimony of Ptolemy, *Geograph. Hibern.* in his Geography of that country, that the Menapii and the Cauci, nations of Teutonic origin, *nationes Teutonicæ originis*, arrived a little before the time of Cæsar, and also his own authority, for a date a little earlier, *Pinkerton*, vol. ii. p. 38, certainly it is far from being probable, that they had lost their language in that of their countrymen, the Celts of Ireland, in so short a time, especially when they are marked by Ptolemy as lying in the south of Ireland, the Celts possessing the north.

Innes, who refers the Scots for the origin of their name to the Scythians, differs from him as to the country from whence they came, and brings them from Belgic Gaul, and the south of Germany, so very dissimilar are their language, customs, and manners, either from those of Germany or Scandinavia. Might they not have maintained, upon more reasonable grounds, that they came from Scotusa in Thrace? The Geloni, who lived in that neighbourhood, painted themselves, and drank milk curdled with the blood of horses, *Virgil, Georg.* iii. a practice observed by the ancient Irish. Scotus, the Latin word for Scot, surely bears a more striking resemblance to that name, than Scyth, the designation of a Gothic race of people? Nor is the derivation of the name from *scoth*, a boat, supported on much more equitable grounds; because that appellation, from the frequency of their attacks upon the Romans in scoths or boats, became so alarming, that the exclamation was "the scoths are a-coming." *Maitland, Hist.* Were we not to mention, that *scoth* signifies a disease, a term from which it might have been as properly derived, and that *scath*, from scapha or skeff, signifies a boat in Cornish, *Lhyde, Archæologia*, the argu-

ment is very improbable. It is usual, in changing the name of any people, that they are denominated from something peculiar to themselves. But here the Scots are known by what is common to all nations, tribes and times; and were they ever distinguished by this name, might it not have been applied as well before, as after the fourth century, if they were a race belonging to the same tribe and country as the Picts?

But it is evident that none of these etymological derivations can altogether be depended upon, much less can they be brought forward to support any supposition, that the Scots belong to another country, which is contradictory of the proof arising from language and manners. The name of the Scots is not more involved in obscurity, than Europe, Asia and Africa, or Rome, the Queen of nations, —an appellation which was found left by Ptolemy altogether inexplicable. *See Dr M'Pherson's Dissertation.*

This people, as appears, spoke the Celtic language. Although the etymology and orthography of this most ancient language of Europe, has undergone considerable alteration, and been changing with every revolution among the nations, yet a singular quality of this tongue, in altering the beginning, instead of the termination of words, the structure and form of speech being radical and fundamental, *Pinkerton's Inquiry, Lhyde Archæologia, Grant on the Gael,* make it difficult, where the people are equally numerous, whether they be incorporated with other nations, or remain distinct from them, to alter, by the influx of words, the genius of the language, in such a way as not to be distinguished from another. If the Scots spoke the Celtic language, a circumstance which, so far as we know, has never been called in question, those derivations of the term, which make them Scythians, can never be admitted to be correct.

It is generally granted that Hibernia or Ibernia is a local name, arising from the western situation of the island, and thought to have been derived from the Gothic *uber-ey, iber-ey,* or Uberdon, Western Isle; *vid. Pinkerton's Inquiry;* in the same manner as the denomination mountaineers, is given to the inhabitants of a country living among mountains. Besides the language of that part of Spain called Celtici or Celtiberia, which was opposite, and lay most adjacent to Ireland, was entirely different from the language

of the Scots. If this people came from Spain, they must have been Celts, as their language is not Iberian or Cantabric: and it is well known that the Verones of Biscay were Celts; *Strabo*, lib. iii. p. 215, that from the Celtic promontory, or Cape Finisterre, to the river Durna, the country was inhabited by that people, and that the Artabri, a race of men who lived between these points, though they were called Scythæ, were nevertheless descended from the Celts, the same race of men. In Gallicia, the Neriæ and the Basmareæ were known by the name of Celts; *Plin.* lib. iv. c. 20. The Asturians were a warlike Celtic people, *Plin.* lib. iii. c. 3; and the Cantabrians, together with other unconquered nations in Gallicia, which is situate in the northern extremity of Spain, opposite to Ireland, were with difficulty reduced by the Romans, in the reign of Augustus. Although it thus appears probable that the Scots might have been of Spanish origin, the Celtiberii and the Celtici of Spain, together with all those claiming kindred with the Celtic race in that country, who were not originally Iberians, were undoubtedly descended of that people, who passed over from Gaul into Spain, with a view of invading the country. *Lucan, Silius Italicus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Appian.* And this expedition must have been composed of German Gauls. This is evident, not only from the inhabitants, who were afterwards found in Spain, being a mixed race of men, partly composed of Celts and Germans, but also from the manner in which Cæsar describes Gaul and its inhabitants. The Celts or old Gauls were bounded by the Seine on the north, and Garroni on the south. The east of Gaul was possessed by the Belgæ, the Allobroges, the Helvetii, and other German Gauls; while the south was called Gallia Braccata, to distinguish it from Celtic and Aquitanic Gaul; *as the name braccata, breeches, implied. Herodotus.* And all these differed from one another, in language, manners and laws. *Cæs. Commen.* lib. i. *Vid. Pinkerton's Inquiry into the Hist. of the Scots.* This expedition must have been made by the inhabitants who bordered upon Spain, to which the Gallo-German tribes of that country are traced up; and moreover it appears that they differed considerably from the Celtic inhabitants of ancient Gaul. The Celtic language spoken by the Gothini shews that they were not Germans. *Gothinus Gallicia* lingua coarguit

non esse Germanos. *Tacit. de Mor. Germanorum.* But the Celts and Germans differed, notwithstanding, from one another, in person, *Tacitus in Agric.* c. 11; manners, *Tacit. in Germ.* c. 18. *Cæsar*, lib. v. *Aristot. Polit.* lib. ii. c. 2; laws, religion and language, *Tacit. Germ. passim. Cæs. de Bel. Gall.* lib. vi. Chiverius, a modern writer, affirms that the Celts and Germans are the same, contrary to Suetonius, Herodotus, Aristotle, Polybius, Dionysius, Perugetes, Plutarch and Ptolemy. It is evident, then, as Mr Pinkerton has shewn, that the Celtici and Celtiberii of Spain, from among whom the Scots must have emigrated, if they were of Spanish origin, were not Celts, properly so called, but German Celts, known indeed by this denomination, because, at the time of the Spanish expedition, they possessed a part of Gaul, formerly belonging to that people.

The Verones of Biscay, who lived beside the Cantabrian Canusci, *Strabo*, lib. iii. p. 245, were of that Celtic expedition, which seems principally to have been composed of German Gauls: and the Artabrii, *Strabo*, p. 230, at the promontory which is called Nerrium or Celticum, together with the Celtici who lived around it, were of the same race with those in the river Ana, that is, Goths or Germans. It is highly improbable that a few Celts, who may have come into Spain, in conjunction with the expedition of the Northern Gauls, who were Germans, could have sent a colony, who were purely Celtic, into Ireland. The Celtiberii who settled in Spain, allowing that they possessed at first the peculiarities of the Celts, lived in the midst of two races of men, the German Gauls and the Iberi; and differed from them, if they were Celts, in almost every circumstance which can constitute a resemblance. How could they have separated themselves from their German allies of Gaul, migrated from Spain, conquered the first inhabitants of Ireland, who were from the interior of Britain; *Richard's ancient Latin Itinerarium*, p. 50, *supposed to be written about the second or third century;* spoken a language purer, a considerable time after they left Spain, than their own could have been when they came into Ireland, and retained the exact peculiarities of the Gauls, in like manner as the Irish did in the first century?

We shall now proceed to prove, from the language spoken by the

Picts, and their manners, which differed from those of the Scots, that the latter were not indigenal inhabitants of Caledonia. That the Picts were destroyed by the Scots, upon the accession of Kenneth to the throne of the united kingdom, is an assertion too groundless to be noticed. It appears that the Picts "were spoiled of great "booty by Anlaive and Ivar in 870," after the revolution in favour of Kenneth; that a battle was fought between the Picts and the black Gals in 874; and that Constantine was declared king in 875. *Aod Mac Kenneth*, A. D. 877.—*Constantine Mac Cinach, rex Pictorum*, A. D. 875. *Aod Mac Kenneth, rex Pictorum*, A. D. 877, *Ulster Annal.* They were, indeed, greatly distressed by the Danes in 875; *Asserius, Chronic. edit. Gale.* But they appear to have been a distinct race in the time of the Danish invasion, *Ethelw. et Saxon Chronic. edit. Gibson*, p. 83, since they composed part of the army of Constantine, king of Albany, at the battle of Rimford, which was decided by the Saxons in 937. *Ethelw. Chronic.* fol. 481, 483. They also fought at the battle of the Standard, as late as the year 934, two hundred and eighty-nine years after they are said to have been cut off by the Scots. *Scrip. Col. Aug.* 1746. *Rich. Hay. Aug. Col.* 2914. From this it may appear what degree of credit is due to the account of the extirpation of the Picts by the Scots.

The mountains of Drum Albyne, divided the Scots from the Picts in 702; *Adam.* lib. ii. c. 4. *Intra quos Pictos dorsi monte Britannici distermini.* There is no branch of these mountains that can apply to this description, unless those that lie between Dumbarton at the Clyde, and the loch immediately north of Argyleshire. According to Monypenny, 8vo. *Lond.* 1612, in his description of Scotland, it agrees with the highest part of Braid Albin, which was denominated Drum Alban, "the Back of Scotland," or that chain of mountains which runs from the east to the western coast at Loch Huin. The Orkneys seem also to have been subject to the Picts, as appears from the hostages delivered to King Brude at his palace, north of Lochness, by a prince from these islands, in presence of Columba. *Adam. ibid.* It is evident that these northern provinces of Caledonia, were at that time possessed by the Picts. This appears from a description of an Orkney island which was si-

tuated beyond the Picts, and not the Scots. *Tertia insula sita est in extrema limite orbis Britanniæ, ultra Pictos, et vocatur. Nennius*, c. ii. p. 98, *who wrote in* 885. Findan, on being carried captive from Ireland to Denmark, came to a certain island, called the Orkney island, in the neighbourhood of the Pictish nation. *Gildas, Vit. Findani*, p. 318. *Ad quasdam venere insulas juxta Pictorum gentem, quas Orcades vocant*, which appear thus to have been situated north of Albany. The Norwegians, when they seized the Orkneys in the ninth century, found this country possessed by the Picts or Papas, who were known by this distinctive title. *The Diploma, published in the second edition of Wallace's Orkney Isles, Lond.* 1760. Although the name of Picts began to be disused in the twelfth century, yet the people in the northern Pictish provinces were known by the name of Moravienses, from the frequent insurrections and disturbances of the Picts in Ross, Caithness, Murray and Galloway. *Boec.* lib. i. ii. fol. 67. In the time of David, Alexander I, and Malcolm III, they appear not to have been so easily reconciled to their connection with the Scots, as their countrymen in the interior of Pictland. For this reason, Malcolm IV. was obliged, in 1159, to remove many of the people of Murray to different parts of the kingdom, and to plant it with new inhabitants. *Chronic. Psalm, MS. Bibliæ. Regiæ.* Lond. lib. 8. c. 6.

The southern boundary of the Pictish dominions, although it can be traced out, is yet very obscure. In the year 425 or 426, the Picts and Scots seized the whole province of Valentia up to the wall of Gallio, between the Solway and the Tyne. *Tetri Scotorum, Pictorumque greges omnem aquilonalem extremamque terræ partem, pro indigenis muro tenus capessunt; Gildas*, p. 13, 14. "Great numbers of Picts and Scots took possession, as old inhabi-"tants, of the whole northern and extreme part of the island, that is, "the extremity of the Roman provinces in Britain, which extended "northward to the Solway and the Tyne. But the Scots and "Irish departed home, and soon after returned." *Revertuntur, ergo impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum, post non multum temporis reversuri; Picti in extrema parte insulæ, tunc primum et deinceps, requieverunt. Bed.* lib. ii. c. 12, 13. "Tunc primum et dein-"ceps requieverunt, pro indigenis," certainly implies, either that they

took possession as old and indigenal inhabitants, or at least that they remained in the country. From the circumstance of the Britons' resigning the territories north of Northumberland to the Caledonians, where the wall of Severus was built in 210, it appears that the Mæatæ inhabited the country north of this wall. This people afterwards retired from between the walls to Dumbarton and Renfrewshire, where they formed themselves into a distinct kingdom. It is doubtful, however, as Mr Pinkerton has shewn, what language they spoke. Though the language of these parts has something of a Welsh accent, the Pictish or broad Scots is used there, and round all the southern part of Scotland. Vid. Pinkerton. The Scots, if they took any active part with the Picts in their wars with the Danes, are not mentioned along with them in 446, although a few years afterwards they made a great conquest in the south. "The "progeny or descendants of the inhabitants about the Humber," that is, of those nations which live immediately to the north of it, were, together with the other inhabitants, descended from the Angli. *Humbrorum progenies, id est, illarum gentium, quæ ad boream Humbri fluminis inhabitavit, cæterique Anglorum populi sunt.* It is therefore highly probable, that they inhabited the eastern part of the island in Northumberland; for before the middle of the fifth century, the Scots had extended themselves over Yorkshire, Lincoln, and part of Northumberland, previous to the arrival of the Saxons.

When Theodosius came over, about 368 years after the birth of Christ, we find that he defeated some parties of the Scots and Picts in his progress through Kent to London. *Amm. Mar.* c. 27. p. 625. The Picts were driven back by the Jutes, who concluded an alliance with them in 450. *Tum subito initio ad tempus fœdere cum Pictis, quos longius jam bellando pepulerunt. Bed. Hist. Ecc.* lib. v. c. 16. It is obvious, from this passage, that Ida, who founded the kingdom of Bernicia in 547, and Eba, that of Deira, Yorkshire, in 659, could not, with both their armies, amounting only to a few thousand men, have peopled so vast a tract of land. The eastern part north of the Humber must have been peopled by the Picts, as no vestige of the Gaelic or the Welsh, its original tongue, now remains. In 685, the Pictish kingdom received a new addition to its southern

dominions, which it afterwards retained. *Ex quo tempore, spes cæpit, et virtus regni Anglorum flueri, ac retro sublapsa referri. Nam et Picti terram possessionis suæ, quam tenuerunt Angli.* "From "this time the hope and stay of the kingdom of the Angli began "to fail; the Picts recovered the land of their possession, which the "Angli had held, and the British Scots, and part of the Britons, "their liberty." Edbert, king of Northumberland, was engaged in a war with the Picts, and among other conquests, he added the camp of Cyil. *Edbertus campum Cyil, cum aliis regionibus suo regno, addidit;* that is, ancient Galloway, which included all the provinces of Scotland that lie south of the Forth and Clyde. It appears formerly to have been subject to the Angli or Northumbrians, and was probably just now endeavouring to shake off its dependence. It is manifest, from the circumstance of Unguist I. joining Edbert, in order that they might reduce Stratclyde, that it was Galloway which Edbert annexed to his dominions. The above expression, then, "the land of their possession," which, from this passage, the Anglo-Saxons and Jutes were thought to have held, in all likelihood implies only, that the Pictish nation recovered their ancient property, "the land of their possession," inhabited by themselves, though long subject to another crown. It was indeed impossible, as Mr Pinkerton shews, that the army of Ida could have peopled so fertile and extensive a territory. So powerful were the monarchs of Pictland at this time, that in 773, Aleridus, king of Northumberland, fled to the king of the Picts for refuge. In 794, another Northumbrian king took advantage of the same protection. *Script. Angliæ*, col. 107, n. 34. and col. 113, n. 54. The latter, at the union of the Picts and Scots, was in possession of all the midland territories from the Tweed to the Scottish friths, which Kenneth inherited, as well in the right of the Pictish crown, to which he succeeded, as by conquest. But after the union with the Scots, they seem to have made a more distinguished figure in Galloway, than any where else in Scotland. The Scots seem to have been allied with them upon their invasion of that country, some time before the union, on the decay of the Bernician kingdom. *Malmesbury*, fol. 155. n. 5. They were the Picts who released Galloway from its subjection to the Saxon throne, when they annexed it to their own do-

minions. *Sedes Candidæ Casæ, de populatione Pictorum, additione Anglorum omnino defecit. Polychron.* p. 207 ; and it appears from Mr Maitland and Dr Jamieson, who at considerable length establish their Scandinavian or German origin, that they were a very numerous race in the end of the eleventh century. Edius, in his Life of St Witifred, bishop of York, speaks of them as an innumerable race of men. *Gentis innumeræ, Edd. vit.* c. 19. Galloway was called the country of the Picts in the twelfth century. *Patria Pictorum, quæ modo Galvedia dicitur.* And so famous were these Gallowegians at this time, that Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, denominates the Bishop of Galloway "the Bishop of the Picts," *Jocelin. vit. St. Kentigern apud Bolland.* n. 34. *Epist. Raulf. Cant. ad Collist. Pap. Scrip.* Col. 1746, because the Picts were themselves called Gaulwenses, or inhabitants of Galloway. *Picti, qui vulgo Gaulwenses dicuntur. Richard.*

From these observations on the Pictish history, we learn, that about two-thirds of the inhabitants of Scotland were Picts, in the twelfth century. However much they may have been intermixed since that period, the Scots or Highlanders, betaking themselves to their own native mountains, where they can converse freely together in their own ancient tongue, and the Picts preferring the more open and fertile plains, still the proportion remains the same. But the Gaelic must have gradually yielded to the Pictish language, on account of the number who spoke it, as well as from the intercourse of the two nations, which, in a great measure, tends to obliterate all distinction.

The inhabitants of the Highlands, who speak a different language, and, till lately, wore a different garb from those of the Lowlands or eastern parts of Scotland, are not now separated by friths and rivers, nor distinguished by northern or southern latitudes, but live together in the same district.

The line of separation between the two is even yet visible, notwithstanding the familiar intercourse of the two nations for upwards of 900 years. This line, beginning at Dumbarton, goes by Crief, Dunkeld and Blairgowrie in Perthshire, from whence it takes a northerly course to Morven, in the heights of Aberdeenshire, lying between Don and Dee, and to Currin in Banffshire. From this place it goes due west by Dornoway, near the river Findhorn, in the shire

of Murray to Nairn. From Nairn it continues near by Inverness, to the south of Dingwall in Ross-shire; and from thence, in a north-easterly direction, to Dornoch, where it stops. North of this frith, with the exception of a narrow piece of land, lying between the hills and the coast of the German Ocean, the Gaelic is invariably spoken. *See Home's History of the Rebellion in* 1745. This, together with the other parts of Scotland west of the line where the Gaelic is prevalent, contains nearly the half of Scotland, although not much more than a fourth of its inhabitants.

NOTE B.

We have indeed no written specimen of the Pictish language; but it is incredible that it is lost, since we have seen that it must have been spoken, by nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants. That the language cannot be Saxon is certain. The Saxons never reached the north-eastern parts of Scotland; and Ida's army not being above ten thousand men, *vid. Pinkerton*, vol. i. p. 543. part iii. c. 10.; *Whitaker, Hist. Manch.;* allowing a fourth part to have settled in Northumberland, for which we have no authority, the broad Scots must have still prevailed, since it appears to have been inhabited by the Picts and Scots.

It is said, at the Norman conquest, that many English fled into Scotland: these were, however, people of rank, and French was the court language spoken in England before the conquest. *Warton's Hist. of England.* Malcolm III, while engaged in a war at Durham, in 1070, receiving intelligence, that his own territories in Cumberland were laid waste, through the treachery of Gospatrick; *Sim. Dunelm.* p. 200; was so enraged, that he ordered the inhabitants to be put to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, but afterwards commanded all the young men and maidens to be driven into Scotland, "so that for many years they were to be found in almost every Scottish hovel." *Sim. Dunelm.* p. 201. In the same year, William the Conqueror, in order to punish a late revolt, laid waste the country between the Humber and the Tees. *Chronic. Saxon.*

p. 199. Those who escaped famine and the sword sought an asylum in Scotland. *St. Dunelm.* p. 199. Indulf, who relates the same circumstance, calls the country Northumberland, which, it appears, extended as far as the Humber. *Indulphus*, p. 79.

Allowing, then, that many of the inhabitants, either of Durham, Cumberland or Northumberland were taken captive into Scotland by Malcolm III, and that those between the Humber and the Tees, who escaped the cruelty of William the Conqueror, took refuge there, they must have been descended of the Picts and Scots themselves, who formerly lived there, up to the Humber; as we are not to suppose that any of the original inhabitants, who were so much afraid of the Scots, that they sent for the Saxons to protect them, would continue to inhabit these conquered dominions. The inhabitants of these countries were of Pictish, but principally of Scottish origin. They continued to inhabit those parts of the country a little north of the Humber, till the middle of the sixth century, and the Scots still held possession of that which belonged originally to the Britons. During those insurrections in England, many fugitives found an asylum from Malcolm III. in Scotland. *Simeon of Durham*, 201; and so numerous were they, that they were found almost in every village. *Scala Chronic. Vid. Leland, Collect.* vol. i. p. 531. But these were soon driven away by the enmity of the native inhabitants. *Saxon. Chronic. Gibson*, 99; *Floren. Worcest.* 4th edit. p. 460. Duncan, the successor of Malcolm, obtained the kingdom only upon condition that he would not again introduce Angli or Normans into the country,—a condition to which he agreed. *Saxon. Chronic. Gibson*, 200; *Floren. Worcester.*

But if the inhabitants north of the Humber, who emigrated to Scotland, were not the descendants of the Scots and Picts, Donald Bane expelled all foreigners in 1093, together with those who had found refuge and protection at the court of Malcolm. *Chronicon. Saxon.* 199, *Florence of Worcester, and Simeon of Durham.* In the next century the residue of the Saxon colonists were driven into towns and castles, *William of Newbury*, lib. ii. c. 24. A. D. 1153; in the reign of William the Lion. Allowing, then, with Dr Jamieson and Mr Pinkerton, the fugitives to have amounted to 150,000, together with the remainder of those English inhabitants of the bo-

roughs of Scotland who survived the great slaughter made by the Scots, in the absence of King William in 1173, *William of Newbury*, lib. ii. c. 34, and those who were found in his army, such a number could hardly introduce their language among a million. Three-fourths of them were perhaps dispersed as servants in families, which renders the opinion still more improbable, nor will the conclusion be false, although the population be overrated.

It has been said, that the Danes may have settled in the eastern part of the kingdom, and there have introduced their language; but this is merely assertion. The Norwegians held the Orkneys, and a part of Ross-shire, with Caithness, and Sutherland; and it cannot be supposed, that the territories of Ross and Murray were possessed by the Norwegians. The Annals of Ulster make mention of the Norwegians of Ireland, Albany or Pictland; so that part of the Western Isles must at that time have been inhabited by this people. But we have no reason to believe, that they ever could effect a settlement farther than the Isles, though the northern parts of Scotland, being at a distance from the Pictish capital, acknowledged for some time Norway superior. Granting that they did possess themselves of Sutherland and Caithness, with the Picts; these adventitious settlements of the Saxons, if the body of the people had been Celtic, must, from the insignificance of their numbers, have at last assumed their language, and been swallowed up in the more numerous population of the Celtic inhabitants, like the French and Flemings in England.

The Belgæ, Pictish and Danish colonists, who settled in Ireland, lost their language among the other inhabitants. Even the English themselves, though a numerous race, and the conquerors of Ireland, would not have been distinguished among the original inhabitants, had not special laws been made to preserve their language. The people of the plains of Ireland, as well as those of the mountains, spoke the Celtic tongue; and unless in the most mountainous parts of the north, where the Scottish and English tongue prevailed, the Celtic is the universal language of Hibernia. If such be the case, in a country conquered and widely colonised by the English, what might we expect in Scotland, a kingdom never vanquished, and always at variance with them?

NOTE C.

We have now seen that the Pictish language, both in the south and north, independent of those accidental settlements of the English, Norwegians and ancient Scots, must have still prevailed. But, not to multiply repetitions, we refer the reader to the works of Dr Jamieson and Mr Pinkerton, who have both gone over this ground at great length. Although the language is not a written one, yet in the eastern Lowlands of Scotland the revolutions and alterations have been so immaterial, that it will be found in as pure and uncorrupted a state, as the change of the times and improvements introduced into society will admit. In these, and other parts where the Gaelic language does not prevail, it is evidently Gothic. We have seen that it could not be the Norwegian Gothic; for the Norwegians never extended, even with their tributary provinces, to the Murray Frith; and that it was not the Anglo-Gothic or Saxon, appears from the insignificant number of their settlers, in comparison of the Picts. Bede, at one time, divides Britain into four different nations and languages,—the British or Welsh, Pictish, Scottish, and Angli. "*Quæ (in s. provincias Britanniæ), in qua-*" *tuor linguas, id est Britonum, Pictorum, Scotorum, Anglorum,* " *divisa est,*" *Bed.* lib. iii. c. 6. And at another time into five different languages, spoken by five different races of men,—the English or Saxons, the British or Welsh, the Scots or Irish, the Picts, and the Romans or Latins. *Bed. Hist. Eccl.* lib. i. c. 1. Tacitus confirms the Gothic extraction of the Picts; from their red hair and large joints. " *Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, et magni artus,* " *Germanicam originem asseverunt.*" *Tacitus, vit. Agric.* n. 15. It was reported, before the time of Bede, " that the nation of the " Picts, entering the ocean from Scythia, came to Ireland, where, " finding no settlement, they went over to North Britain." *Ut perhibent, gentem Pictorum contigit, de Scythia. Beda.* The Scythia of Bede is the Germany of Tacitus. The former, like Strabo, p. 507, Pliny, lib. vi. c. 13, and Diodorus Siculus, lib. vi. c. 7, supposes

that Scythia Europea extended the utmost limits of the north, including Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; and the latter understands Scandinavia, which was called Scythia by Jornandes, 200 years before Bede, to be in Germany.

The Picts in the eleventh century were thought to have come from Suthan of Scitthian, south of Scythia. Geraldus Cambrensis says that Gratian and Valentinian, joint emperors, transmitted in ships a Gothic nation from the country of Scythia into the northern parts of Britain. "*Gratianus et Valentinius, imperii consortes, gentem Gothicam e Scythiæ finibus in aquilonares Britanniæ partes, navigo transmiserunt,*" lib. i. c. 15. p. 308. edit. Lond. 1687. fol. Vika is a kingdom of Norway. Torfeus, ii. 18. The Peukeni, *habens Gothos et Peucenos, ab insula Peuce, Jornand.* appear to be the same as the Pikenses above Mæsia, *Ammianus Marcellin.* lib. xvii; and the Peuki in the island of Peuke in the Euxine Sea. Orpheus calls the Peukini, Picti, when he alludes to the Argonauts sailing from the Palus Mæotis. The Vendi lived between the Peukini and Fenni on the shores of the Baltic, east of the mouth of the Vistula. It appears from their language that these were Germans, *Tacitus German. Dethr.* p. 296. *Plin.* iv. 13; and that the Basternæ, a Gothic race, constituted a fifth part of the Germans; *ibid.* Some have thought that the Peukini took its rise from the Piki of Pliny, *Herodian,* iv. 7; who lived in present Circassia, or the Picos of Plautus in Aulularia. But whether these two nations, the Vika of Torfeus, 11. 18, and the Peukini, from Peuke, an island in the Euxine sea, who are thought to have received their name from the Piki of Pliny, vi. 7, who lived between the Mæotis and the Ceraunian mountains in Circassia, were one people,—whether they proceeded northward, emigrating under the name of Picti, probably the Phtar, Peahtar or Pihtar of the Saxon Chronicle, the Pehiti of Witichind, and Pehts of ancient Scottish poets, *vid. Pinkerton,* is a question which we shall leave to be determined by better etymologists.

NOTE D.

We must confess that no absolute dependance is to be placed on arguments drawn from a similarity of manners and customs in establishing the origin of nations, as these are nearly the same in all barbarous countries. Yet in discovering the origin of a people, when the probability lies all upon one side, from that surest criterion of the disputed origin of any nation, language, surely a similarity of manners and usages, leads us to ascribe to them one common origin? The military character of the ancient Picts or Caledonians, and Germans, affords some striking features of resemblance. The swords of Germany were long, and unwieldy. *Plaut. in Mario.* The enormous length of those in Caledonia were fatal to the Picts in that battle which they fought with Agricola, on the side of the Grampian mountains. *Tacitus in vit. Agric.* c. 12. The Caledonian shield was short and narrow, *Herodotus*, lib. iii. p. 47; that of Germany was formed in the same manner. *Tacit. Annal.* lib. ii. p. 47, *Agric.* c. 2. p. 55. The cateia of Virgil, *Æn.* vii. v. 740, was used by the Persians, a Belgic nation of German origin. *Tacit. de Mor. German.* The Germans, who painted their shields with beautiful colours, *Tac. de Mor. Germ.* p. 600, *Senec. in Apol. Einthoisi*, had a contempt for helmets and coats of mail; *Tacit. de Mor. Germ.* p. 437. 447. 46. 609, tacked together their mantles with a fibula or pin, *ibid.*; made use of a dagger, like the Scots bidog, with a short spear, *Camd. de Brit. art. Sax.*; and in order to heighten their natural ferocity, they blackened their shields, painted their bodies, and were wont to fight their battles "in the dead and silence of the "night." *Tacit. de Mor. Germ.* c. 43. The Caledonians, in imitation of the Germans, stained their shields with red colours. *Ancient Poets.* They neither had helmets nor coats of mail. *Herodotus*, lib. iii. v. 107; were well acquainted with the silver, brass, or iron fibula, and a skewer of wood or bone to fasten it with, *Solinus*, c. 35; armed themselves with a sort of dagger or dirk, a representation of which

is at this day to be seen in the university of Glasgow, and were uniformly addicted to that peculiar German custom of painting their bodies; *Herodian and Claudian.* The arms of both nations were in ancient times headed by independent chieftains or kings. Each tribe having the same common interest, was engaged in pursuit of glory, while at the same time it was closely kept together by an inviolable attachment to its chieftain. *Tacitus de Mor. Germ.* c. 7. & 14. A similarity of manners may be thought of no use in tracing the origin of a nation; but let it be remembered that there was a marked difference between those of the Scots and Picts, who lived in the same country. Even as late as the sixth century, although both nations had remained in strict alliance, for three centuries down to that period, and must have intermixed, from their vicinity to one another, and the frequency of their intercourse in military expeditions, the Scots and Picts still differed from one another, in some of their manners and customs. *Gildas*, c. 15.

NOTE E.

One great objection made against the German origin of the Caledonians, *by Innes*, p. 74, *and others*, is the distance between Scandinavia and North Britain; and the probability, that the art of navigation was not, at that early period, so far advanced, as to enable a colony to pass over so great a distance by sea. The Phœnicians, we know, made early voyages to the coast of Gaul. They imported from thence earthen vessels, salt, and iron, and particularly tin. *Strabo.* The people of Cape Belerium, or Cornwall in England, supplied them with tin, *Diodorus Siculus*; and what could have hindered the Scandinavian Goths from sailing between Norway and the Shetland isles, a passage only of a hundred and fifty miles,—seeing that the Sueiones, a tribe in Scandinavia or Germany, from whence the Picts came, had a fleet of ships, which stood a comparison with the Roman vessels? *Tacitus.* There was indeed a wider sea between Scandinavia and Scotland, than between Gaul and Ireland. But, at no very distant period, as Mr Pinkerton shews,

the savage Finns were accustomed to come from Finland to Shetland and the Orkneys, in their skiffs, a distance much farther than that of Scandinavia from Scotland.

The circumstance of the Picts and Scots being both called Caledonians, and consequently the descendants of the same race of people, is a mere sophism, as has been already shewn. It has been observed, that the names of the counties, towns, cities, villages, hills, and vales where the Picts dwelt, are for the most part Gaelic. This is indeed true in the same extent, that it is in every other Gothic country in Europe. There is scarcely a nation in Christendom, where the most ancient names of the country are not Celtic. The fact is, that this race of people were the first, and consequently the most ancient inhabitants of Europe. They were a wandering race; and when successive colonies issued from Asia, the parent country of the human race, they sought new settlements, and moved onward still, with their flocks and herds. They retained the same unsettled habits in the wilds of Caledonia, during the time of Cæsar, as appears from his Commentaries; and even in the fourth century, their descendants, the Scots, were a wandering race. *Scoti per diversa vagantes. Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. 20, 27. It was during this period that the Celtic nations, both in Britain and Europe in general, gave names to rivers, straths, and mountains: they could neither take up their abode in the glen, nor prosecute their wandering habits, without giving names to the places where they sojourned, and the rivers and mountains which they passed. The antiquity of these Celtic names refers them to this origin, antecedent to the arrival either of the Picts in Caledonia; *Bed.* lib. i. *Giraldus Cambrensis*, lib. i. c. 15. p. 308, *edit. Lond.* 1678, fol., or the Belgæ on the shores of Britain; *Cæsar's Commen.*

From these observations, it is evident that the ancient Scots could not be descended from the Picts, nor could they belong to a race of men, differing from them in every particular, which marks a similarity between two nations. This is true, were we not assured, upon positive evidence, that they were a different race of people, and spoke a different language; and that they came from Germany or Scandinavia, the inhabitants of which they resemble, in many striking instances. We have seen that the Scots

could not come from Scandinavia, or from Spain; and that though part of them were perhaps indigenal inhabitants of North Britain, they were there only known by the name of Britons. Ireland appears to have been the country from whence the principal colonies of the Scots came, as will afterwards appear. But although many bodies of emigrants passed over from thence, at an early period, there seems to have been an original tribe in Caledonia; so that it is doubtful whether the name originated in Ireland, or North Britain.

NOTE F.

It now remains for us to shew the period of the Scottish settlement in Albany, and the rise of their monarchy. The time when they first arrived in Ireland can only be estimated by probability, to have been before, or about the birth of Christ. The high antiquity of the Scottish race of kings, seems to have arisen from that of Ireland, which was carried up by the bards, 700, 1000, or even 2000 years before the incarnation. The scriptural names introduced among their kings, such as Pharaoh's daughter, whom they supposed to be Scota, and Niul, the twentieth from Japhet, to whom the Scottish origin is traced, at least seven centuries before they could have the means of knowing heus names, bring down the early civilization of Ireland, with the invention of their letters to a date posterior to the time when Christianity was introduced by St Patrick. The Scots are sent by them naturally enough into North Britain 300 years afterwards, when sufficient allowance had been made for the increase of their numbers. Their monarchy had been begun by Fergus, the son of Feredac or Fercart, the thirty-ninth king in progression upwards, during a space of seven hundred years from the overthrow of the Scottish monarchy. Bede, lib. i. c. 2, had his information on these subjects from some Scottish monks in the eighth century, and gave implicit confidence to their fabulous relations and genealogical tales, because it was impossible to ascertain either the truth or falsehood

of the report. Nennius, c. 9, for the same reason, believed that the Scots came to North Britain five hundred years before the incarnation, and two hundred after they had settled in Ireland. Fordun, in that part of his work which relates to the Scottish antiquity, marks 2175, from the time that Gathelus left Egypt, A. M. 3689, to the commencement of the Scottish monarchy in Britain. He gives the history of Scota, Pharaoh's daughter; an account of the loss of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, in the time of Moses; the history of Simon Breac, who carried with him the fatal stone into Ireland; and enters into a detail on the gradual settlement of the Scots in Britain, under Fergus, son of Ferchar, their first king, A. C. 330. Their history from the commencement of the Scottish monarchy by Fergus, son of Ferchar, to the restoration in Britain, A. D. 403, consisting of upwards of a space of 730 years, is given with as great precision and minuteness, as if he himself had been an eye-witness to the transactions. Thus we can easily see the resemblance which Fordun's history bears to the romances of the Irish bards, as well as that given by all the other Scottish historians, that support the high antiquity of the nation, who do not adopt the fables of Boece. For the details of these writers are referable to Fordun, whose work is a collection of all the ancient remains of Scottish history, to be found in Scotland, England and Ireland, after the destruction of our historical documents by Edward I. of England, and from such other traditional information as he could meet with. *Præf. Libr. MSS. B. M. de Cupro.* Though the high antiquity of the Scots in Britain obtained credit before the time of Fordun, yet, according to the Chronica Regum Scotorum, the Chartulary of St Andrew's, the Chronicles collected by Innes and Gray, the Chronicon Rythmicum, c. 5. 6. 9, and the Chronicle of Winton, lib. iv. fol. 37. 38. 43, the Scots had no kings before the time of Fergus, son of Erch. These chronicles, which were all written before the time of Fordun, unless that of Winton, who never saw his work previous to the publication of his own, agree that Fergus, son of Erch, was the first king of the Scots in Caledonia. The Chronicon Rythmicum, c. 6, which was written before the year 1291, dates the arrival of the Scots in Albany in 443. In the famous letter of the Scottish nobility to Pope John XVII, in defence of the independence of the crown, dated the 6th

August 1320, *Fordun*, p. 78, *Hearne's edit.*, we find the number of those Scottish kings of Albany, first mentioned, in order to give the court of Rome and the Pope a high opinion of their antiquity and prerogative, over the English. The Scots were anxious to raise the antiquity of their nation, because Edward I. had carried up his succession to Brutus and Locrinus. Baldred Bissett, one of the Scottish deputies sent to the Pope, informed him, that the Scots had thirty-six catholic kings before the English were converted to the Christian religion. *Fordun, edit. Hearne*, p. 887. The continuators of Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. iv. c. 10, mention another writer that gives the Scots twenty-three kings before the Picts came into Britain. By this means they carried the origin of the Scottish monarchy back to the time when that people are said by Fordun, lib. i. to have come into Ireland; so little ground had they for their belief of this first race of kings. *Vid. Innes, Essay.* This writer is thought to have fabricated the name of Fergus, son of Ferchart or Feradach, the first Scottish monarch, in order to obviate an account, which was attested by all the preceding authentic chronicles, namely, that Fergus, son of Erch, was the first king of the Scots, and to give credibility to his history. It was probably for the same reasons that he framed a retreat of the whole nation to Ireland in the fourth century, upon a passage of Sigebert, or Gregory of Tours, which only imports that the Picts and Scots were driven out of South Britain by Maximus.

The falsity of his first race of kings, appears also from the period, A. D. 403, when the exile of the whole nation was agreed upon; because he could probably meet with no better instrument for their expulsion than the tyrant Maximus. *Fordun*, lib. ii. c. 12, *edit. Hearne.* He quotes for his authority two Latin pieces, "*Albion in terris*," *&c. &c.* "*Agmine condenso*," without saying upon what grounds he made use of them. But as Father Innes well observes, the lion rampant described in the shield of Fergus, being no older than the time of Alexander II, on whose shield it was first seen, shews them to have been forged about the 13th century. He also adduces, in support of the antiquity and the expulsion of the nation, the legend of St Congal, an Irish churchman, *Fordun*, lib. ii. p. 86, who relates that Fergus, son of Ferchart, brought with him the famous stone from Ireland, on which the

Scottish kings were usually crowned, which originally came from Egypt to Spain. *See the Irish Fables.* Besides, that the Chronicon Rythmicum gives this honourable action to Fergus, son of Erch; St Congal's writings, which are published by F. Fleming among the works of Columba, take no notice of any such circumstances. *Vid. Innes, Crit. Essay.*

Fordun, who was the first that arranged, in better order, the Scottish traditions of former times, assigns them to certain periods of chronology, fixes on a certain time for the commencement of the Scottish monarchy in Britain, and reduces the number of their kings within the bounds of probability. *Fordun*, lib. ii. c. 2. He gives us the names of the founders of their monarchy, and of each of the kings, promiscuously with those of their sons. He says, that he found some little account of them, but not what was sufficient to warrant their history. *Fordun*, lib. iii. c. 2. *edit. Hearne.* These traditions, which he found in ancient chronicles, he embodied in the form of a history; and although they are there mentioned, their names are not distinguished from those of their sons. But so partial was the account which we find in his writings, and so little foundation had he for the existence of these kings, that he at last sums it up in a few words. He concludes their whole history, by saying, "that there were forty-five kings from Fergus, "son of Ferchart, to Fergus II, son of Erch, and that he would "omit distinguishing the times of each of their reigns, for the pre-"sent, as he had found little account of them." *Fordun*, lib. iii. c. 2. *edit. Hearne.*

It may have already appeared from whence the Scots had this fabulous stone, and the long genealogies of the royal family; since we have been able to trace their rise, and the several additions which the fable received from succeeding generations. But we have a direct clue to the origin of these fables, independent of what additional information is drawn from the Irish origin of the Scots, and the long and frequent intercourse which subsisted between them and that nation, from whom the British Scots were descended. The Irish themselves allow, that the Scots had no knowledge of their own antiquities but what they learned from them. *Genealog. of Geoffry*, p. 67. Nennius had his information regarding Irish antiquities from the most learned of the Scots. *Peritissimi Scotorum; Nenn. edit. Rog. Gale*, c. 9. p. 180. Fordun, besides

consulting the Scottish senachies upon these matters, went over to Ireland, where he inspected its annals, and conversed with writers upon history and antiquities. *Ex Præf. Chron. in oraculis Hibernis, de Cupro.* Should we indeed be able to prove the accounts of the ancient senachies or bards to be fabulous, the other additions made to the Scottish history, which were ingrafted upon them by ignorant credulity, and a mistaken patriotism, with the exception of Boece's Veremund, an evident forgery, *vid. Innes, Crit. Essay,* must stand or fall with these traditionary tales.

The annals and memoirs, known by the names of Veremundus, Cornelius Hibernicus, and John Campbell, to which we are referred for an account of the forty-five fabulous kings, bear undoubted marks of being the invention of Boece's own time. Had they been transcripts of ancient historical records, in the well-known and most ancient monastery of Ycolmkill, how is it possible that John Fordun, who had travelled one hundred and thirty years before Boece wrote, through Scotland, England, and Ireland, searching all churches, monasteries and colleges, (*Præf. lib. MSS. B. M. de Cupro,*) in quest of historical documents relating to the history of these kings, would have passed over Icolmkill, where he could have found more records than in all the rest together? If he had found the history of the forty kings as distinctly given as in Boece's Veremund, would he, with the continuators of his history, who were all monks, have concluded, with so lame an account of the first forty-five kings, as Fordun does in his history? *A primo quidem hujus regni, rege Fergusio, filio Ferechar, ad hunc regem Fergusium, filium Erch, inclusive, quadraginta quinque reges ejus gentis et generis, in hac insula regnaverunt: Sed et horum singillatim distinguere tempora principatuum, ad præsens omittimus; nam ad plenum scripta non reperimus. Fordun,* lib. i. c. 2. It is well known that the greater part of ancient histories was carried off by Edward I; and is it to be supposed that those of Ycolmkill should have escaped the common fate? Its being an ancient and famous monastery, made it the more liable to be searched, in a cause in which all the Scots themselves were interested. But what is unanswerable, and decisive, against the authority of the vouchers upon which Boece builds the high antiquity of the Scottish line of kings, is the contradictory nature of those parts of his history,

which are well known. The account he gives of the Silures, Brigantes, of Caractacus, Vada, Carausius, the Roman treaties and wars with the Scots in the time of Magaldus, Metellanus, Ederus, Ethodius I, and Donal I, upon the authority of Veremund, is altogether at variance with the accounts given by the Roman historians. Even Buchanan himself, who is not always particular in the choice of his authorities, rejects them as fabulous. The names of Boece's forty-five fabulous kings, agree not with those of John Fordun, lib. v. c. 50. p. 487, 759, *Hearne:* nor with the old genealogy, which was never changed till the time of the former historian in 1526. The history which Fordun gave of these kings was received, according to Father Innes, all over Scotland, and admitted into the monastery of Icolmkill itself. It is still to be seen in the possession of the Cromarty family, under the title of the Chronicle of Ycolmkill. *Dr Abercromb. Hist. Scot.* tom. iii. This is a proof that no such Annals as Veremund, John Campbell, and Hibernicus, which were said to be deposited there, ever existed, else that monastery would not have received John Fordun's partial account of the first forty-five kings, under the name of the Chronicle of Ycolmkill. The author of the Genealogy, entitled, Chronica Regum Scottorum, *vid. Innes Appen.* N. 4.; Rudulphus de Diceto, Dean of London; the Highland senachy mentioned by Fordun and Major, who repeated this genealogy in presence of the three estates assembled at the coronation of King Alex. III, in 1249; Walter Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow, and cardinal of Scotland in the fourteenth century; Winton, prior of Lochlevin in the fifteenth; the continuators of Fordun; William Fratours, *Biblioth. Cotton.* Canon of Aberdeen; and in 1521, John Major, give the same genealogy of kings, though they differ from that of Boece, which depends on the credibility of Veremund. It is evident, then, that these Chronicles must be mere forgeries, as Innes has shewn at full length, between the years 1521 and 1525, upon corrupted copies of this old genealogy. Boece appears to have been ignorant of the other annals or MSS. of Ycolmkill. *Boec. Vit. Epist. Abred.* fol. 30 and 31. But in 1525, three years afterwards, he had his Veremund and John Campbell; *Boeth. Hist. Præfect. ad Jacob V.* fol. iii. *et Hist. Scot.* fol. 114;

and in the following year, published a large volume on the most abstruse and difficult part of Scottish history.

He also quotes Inchcolm, W. Elphinston of Aberdeen, and Turgot, bishop of St Andrew's. But as these are the continuators of Fordun, and differ little from him in their history of the forty-five fabulous kings, his authorities must be resolved, for those additions which he has made to the history of Fordun and their continuators, into those of Veremund, John Campbell, and Cornelius Hibernicus, which seem to have been forgeries of his own time. It thus appears upon what a frail, imaginary foundation, the high antiquity of the Scots by Boece, rests, together with the genealogies of Chambers, who had seen the famous Veremund, *Hist. de Cham.* fol. 229, and the fables of Buchanan. This last writer does not scruple to give a minute and circumstantial account of each of these kings, although he must have been convinced that it was all a fable; since he quotes Tacitus and Julius Cæsar regarding the ignorance of past transactions, in North and South Britain.

The whole truth or falsehood of the history seems then to rest upon the Irish senachies or bards; and it has already appeared, that no credit is due to their testimony. Men are so often susceptible to flattery, especially in matters of antiquity, that to swerve from the truth in the dark ages of ignorance, when a distinct remembrance of past transactions is gone, and to raise the origin and the ancestry of a nation, under an arm powerful enough to crush all gainsayers, are circumstances which have been verified in the rude periods of every nation. They carried their flattery so far, that the Irish themselves were ashamed of it; since they banished them for this reason from the nation: and what credit can we give to accounts originating with such a race of men?

The minute descriptions of these bards was surely intended as an unquestionable proof of the falsehood of the whole history. We might have noticed the circumstantial detail which they gave of persons and places, dates of time and particular facts, from the birth of Cain's three daughters, who had taken possession of Ireland, *Leabhuin Drommas nachta, or the Book with the white cover*, long before the time of Noah: The degree of polity and civilization which they had attained, twelve or sixteen hundred years before Strabo found them entirely wild, in a state of nature,

αγριων τελως ανθρωπων, *Strabo*, 115, 116: Their invention of the Ogum Bethluisnion, or Irish letters, and the Hebrew, Greek and Latin alphabets, *vide Toland's Posthumous Works*, t. i. p. 38, many ages at least before two of these languages were known, *Eupolemus and Eusebius*, or the Greeks and Latins were a people. With these, and numerous absurdities of the same kind, the high antiquity of the Scottish and Irish nations is fraught; but why take notice of these fables at all, which were brought not to support, but to overturn the tottering fabric of antiquity, when they were unknown to all the Roman writers, who make mention of the Scots?

The falsity of these details likewise appears from the contradictory accounts of Scottish and early Irish authors, with those of a modern date. The Scots, *Fordun*, lib. v. c. 50. *Hearne's edit.*, p. 487, 488, agree with Magraith, *Codex. MS. Bibl. Ducis de Chandois*, v. 178, that their Irish descent was by Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet; that there were 101 generations from Adam, and 94 from Noah to Conaremor, *Fordun*, lib. v, who lived, according to the Irish writers, about the birth of Christ; that Gathelus, son of Niulus, having fled to Egypt, married the daughter of Pharaoh, in the time of Moses, and came to Spain, where he became the ancestor of Milesius, who was descended in the thirteenth generation from him, and before his death sent the first colony into Ireland; that Milesius despatched Bartholm and Hybert, with the second colony into that country, whose brother Heremon, with his posterity, continued to reign over the Scots for twenty generations; and that Eondulf sent Simon Breac, the twentieth descendant from Milesius, to Hibernia, with the third colony, and the famous stone which he placed at Teambra. Thus it appears, that they founded the monarchy of the Scots in Ireland, in the time of Monaseh, king of Judea, six hundred years before the birth of Christ. The posterior Irish writers, who were better acquainted with ancient history, found from Josephus, and other historians, that the Scyths, who were supposed to be Scots, were descended from Magog, and not Gomer. They accordingly cut off nine or ten generations, in order to reduce them to the number of the oldest scriptural genealogy of St Luke. *Innes, Ess. Crit. Flahert. Ogygia.* Hermon, whose return into Spain, after his visit into Ireland, is denied by these writers,—is said to have been a son

of Milesius. He lived about twenty generations before Simon Breac, two thousand years before the incarnation, thirteen hundred, or even a thousand years, *O'Flaherty*, p. 84, 85, 182, for they are not agreed exactly about the period when he flourished. But as Moses, who was the seventeenth descendant from Noah, could not have been cotemporary with Gathelus, who was only the seventh, *Keating*, p. 674—p. 809, they found out a new Scota, who was given in marriage to Milesius, instead of Gathelus, after he had returned through Scythia to Egypt. Simon Breac, whom the Scottish and old Irish writers had brought from Spain, was never out of Ireland, according to some of the modern Irish authors, since he was the thirty-eighth king of the Milesian Scots, who lived in that country. But certain modern disciples of these, in order to prevent him from ever having the honourable title of founder of their monarchy, have alleged that he was hanged, or torn to pieces by wild beasts, *O'Flaherty, Oggyia*, p. 249, *Keating*, p. 570—p. 89, that they might raise the origin of their monarchy to a much earlier date than six hundred years before the incarnation. For these fables, about which they are not agreed among themselves, we are not only indebted to the ancient bards, but also in some measure to modern writers.

NOTE G.

THAT the kingdom of the ancient Scots of Britain was composed principally of colonies from Ireland, notwithstanding the fabulous antiquity of the nation, appears from the testimony of one of the most ancient British writers. *Procedente autem tempore, Britannia, post Britannos et Pictos, tertiam Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit, qui duce Reuda, &c. Beda*, lib. i. Some time after the arrival of the Britons and Picts, the inhabitants were joined by a third nation, the Scots, who took up their abode in Ergadia, which had formerly belonged to the Picts. This tribe, emigrating from Ireland under their leader Reuda, either by friendship or arms, established themselves in those settle-

ments among the Picts, which they held in the time of Beda, and from this leader they were called Dalreudini. *Beda*, lib. i. This is the general opinion, both of the Scottish and Irish writers. They lived in Ireland, upon the arrival of the Picts, on the coasts of that island, where they requested a place to settle in; but being refused by the Scots, they are said to have sailed to the northern parts of Britain, and there to have taken up their abode. This at least shews, from the prevalent belief in the time of Bede, that Ireland was considered as the parent country of the Scots; and it must overturn at once the favourite opinion of a modern writer, *Mr Maitland*, vol. i. p. 100, that Ierne, the Greek name for Ireland, is the same as Stratherne, a valley in Scotland.

Upon the first occasion that the name of Picts is mentioned by Eumenius, *apud Pan. v. et Livioilii. Ant. v.* 1099. 8vo, n. 11. *Præf. Medium, or at the Panegyrist in* 296, Britain, that is the Roman part of it, which lies south of the Forth and Clyde, was invaded by the Picts and Irish, while the name of Scots was little known. *Pictis modo et Hibernis, &c.* The Scots, from the first time that their name is mentioned in North Britain, in 360, if we except the allusion of Hieronymus, do not seem to have been long settled in the country prior to this event. The Picts indeed carried on war with the Britons, before the arrival of Julius Cæsar; but the Scots were, at the first knowledge of their existence, living in North Britain, in alliance with that people, *In Britannis cum Scotorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus*, as the Hiberni had been long before. The Scots were little known to the Roman writers, till the fourth century, and even then, *D'Anvil. Shæphlin.* part v. c. 4, and previous to the first, *the Latin Itinerarium of Richard*, p. 50, only in Ireland; although Caledonia, or a part of it, was, about that time, distinguished by the name of Scotia. *Josephus, Hist.*; *Vid. supra.* Ethicus, the cosmographer, who was contemporary with Ammianus Marcellinus, says that Ireland was in his time inhabited by the Scots. *Hibernia Scotorum gentibus colitur.* There the name appears probably at first to have originated, although those who were called Scots in Ireland came from Britain. *Itinerarium Latinorum, Richard's edit.*

NOTE H.

EUMENIUS, in his panegyric to Constantine I, the son of Constantius, in 310, shews that the Hibernia made use of by Ethicus, and other authors, is always intended for the island of Ireland, and not the Scottish Stratherne, according to a modern writer, *Maitland*. "He deigns not to acquire, I will not say the woods, and "marshes of the Caledonians and other Picts, but also Ireland, which "lies adjacent, and distant Thule." *Neque enim ille, non dico Caledonium aliorumque Pictorum, sylvas et paludes, sed nec Hibernorum proximam, Thulen ultimam dignatur acquirere. Eumenius.* In this passage he cannot mean to say that Hibernia is the same as Stratherne. In that case, "Hibernia, which lies next to it," could have no meaning at all, as the country of the Caledonians and the Vecturiones, together with the Picts of the Hebudes and Orkneys, "the other Picts," comprehended Stratherne, or what is denominated by the abettors of this opinion, the Roman Ierne or Ireland. Besides, his "fortunate islands," make it somewhat probable, *ipsas fortunatorum insulas*, and his most distant Thule, which, on account of the superlative degree, must be intended for Ireland, render it certain, that Ireland was understood by the name of Hibernia,—a title which can never be applied to Stratherne, since it is only a part of an island. Nor was it the wantonness of the poet's fancy that warmed Thule with Pictish blood, moistened the sands of Orkney with Saxon gore, and thawed the frozen Ierne into tears for the slaughter of the Scots. It is acknowledged by the writer who makes the objection, *Mr M'Pherson*, p. 133, that Claudian himself denominates North Britain, or some of its islands, Thule. But why he trusts the poet's relation in one instance, and in another, under the same circumstances, rejects it as the poetical wanderings of an overheated imagination, more especially when we find it supported by the writings of numerous of the Roman, and other ancient authors, and the Scottish and Irish annals, is difficult for us to say. Strabo has been quoted as an

incontestable evidence, that Hibernia or Ireland lay to the north, instead of the west of Britain, the position of Stratherne. *Goodall in his Introduction.* It is well known that Ptolemy, and all the ancient writers previous to his time, had, in their geography, mistaken the north for the west. He says, "That in his day, sail-"ors can inform us of no country beyond Hibernia, which is si-"tuated northward next to Britain." *Strabo*, lib. ii. p. 114; and yet he speaks of the Thule as being more remote, *Strabo*, lib. i. p. 63, and farther from the south than Hibernia; *Strabo*, lib. ii. p. 114;—that is, the former, which was Ireland, was situated to the north, and the latter to the west. Cæsar admits that Hibernia was situated towards the west of Britain; and Abraham Peritsol, a Hebrew writer, says, "that the island of Scotland was "almost contiguous to England; that the island of Hibernia lay "adjacent to them to the north;" *Abraham Peritsol. Itinera mundi, translated from the Hebrew;* that is the west.

The principal argument made use of by the same writer, *Maitland*, vol. i. p. 103, to prove that Ierne or Hibernia was Stratherne, rests upon the interpretation of a passage from the writings of Eumenius, in his panegyrics to Constantine, in 296, where he says, "that the Britons in Cæsar's time were a rude people, only "used to fight against the Picts and Irish." *Adhuc natio etiam tunc rudis, et soli Britanni, Pictis modo et Hibernis assueta habitus, adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt. Eumenius.* The Hibernia alluded to here by Eumenius, as well as that spoken of in 310, must relate to Ireland, as it never signifies Stratherne, since we have no account of the Dalreudini till 258, when they came from Ireland. *Bed.* lib. i. c. 12. Buchanan professes to understand, "*soli Britanni*," in the genitive, of the British soil. But it is not to be wondered that this historian, who slightly passes over those of the forty-five fabulous kings, who do not afford an illustration of his favourite doctrine, *De Jure Regni*, should entirely overlook the construction of the *natio cesserunt*, and take Britanni for Britannici in the genitive,—considering that it in some measure supports the antiquity of the Scottish monarchy. Jaques de la Banne, the editor of the edition of Eumenius for the use of the Dauphin of France, changes *seminudis* into *seminudi*. Schwarzius and Jæger, in the Norenberg edition

1779, make an alteration of *soli* into *solis*, and *assueta* into *assueti*. But we agree with Mr Pinkerton, that there is no great occasion for such an alteration, as it may thus be translated, "The nation (alluding to Britain, upon the invasion of Julius "Cæsar), being as yet accustomed only to the Picts and Irish, as "enemies, who were at that time half naked; the Britons alone "(peculiarly so called in contradistinction to the Caledonians and "Irish, who are both called Britons,) tamely yielded to the Ro-"man arms and ensigns." If there be any propriety in the change made by these critics, the sense would not be so much altered, as to restrict Hibernia to Great Britain. Eumenius does not here speak of Stratherne or the Dalreudini, allowing the Picts and Irish to be "of the British soil." Ireland or Ierne is called by ancient writers a British island. *Diodorus Siculus, Festus, Avienus.* Eumenius, therefore, admitting the interpretation of Buchanan, may have meant the Irish, who were inhabitants of Britannia Minor.

The following passage of Claudian, in *3d cons. Honorii*, in his eulogy on Honorius the emperor, has also been adduced in support of the opinion, that Stratherne and Ierne were the same place, that is Ireland. "He shall relate thy grandsire's acts, who the "light Moors and painted Picts did tame, and with his sword "pursued the roving Scots, whilst with bold oars, he subdued the "northern seas." *Facta tui numerabit avi, ille leve Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone, fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus undas. Claudianus, in 5th cons. Honor.* It appears from these lines, that as Theodosius tamed the Picts by land, he pursued the Scots by sea, that is, according to Mr Maitland, over the friths of Forth and Clyde. The seas alluded to in this passage cannot be the estuaries of the Forth and Clyde, mentioned by Gildas and Bede, lib. i. c. 12, else the Picts, as well as the Scots, would have been pursued over the hyperborean waves; for they were both employed on the same expedition against Theodosius, the general of the Roman province, and the southern Britons. The Picts had the frith of Forth to pass over before they could go in to North Britain, if they did not prefer the easier, and more direct way between the friths, as well as the Scots had the Clyde. But why the Picts were subdued

by land, and the Scots pursued by northern seas, if some of the latter were not returning to Ireland, is a circumstance hardly suitable to two nations, flying together before the common enemy, when each of them might have passed to its respective country, without sailing over either of the friths.

But leaving this argument, which is conclusive, considering what other united evidence we have on the same side; the island of Ireland known by the name of Hibernia, Ierne, Iris, Britannia Minor; Stratherne never so denominated, according to all the ancient authors who give any information on the subject, *Bede and Gildas, &c.*; the Irish, English, and most of the Scottish writers, with the Roman historians, all agreeing that the Scots sometimes came from Ireland to the assistance of the Picts, although they lived not in Stratherne: Passing over these, and the other arguments, which are conclusive, we have no precedent for denominating the frith of Clyde, which was the boundary between Argyleshire and the Roman province, "northern seas." Even Gildas himself calls it only an estuary, or arm of the sea. From these words of Claudian, it would appear, then, that the northern seas here mentioned are those lying between North Britain and Ireland. But when we compare with this, another passage of this author, which seems to relate to the same expedition, the circumstance seems at first less obvious: "When he pitched "the camp among the Caledonian hoarfrost, the Orkneys were "moistened with Saxon gore, Thule was warmed with the blood "of the Picts, and icy Ireland wept over the slaughtered heaps of "the Scots." *Ille Caledoniis posuit, qui castra pruinis, maduerunt, Saxone fuso, Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule; Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne. Eumenius, Paneg.* From the Saxons being here mentioned, we know that it points to the same expedition. Upon the succession of Valentinian I. to the throne in 364, he found, among the other barbarous nations that invaded the Roman province in Britain, many Saxon tribes. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. 26. p. 315. The Picts, it is true, are not said to have passed the sea between their own country and Thule, which, in the true sense of the term, may be called a northern sea; nor are the Saxons, though we have seen that both these nations moistened the Orkneys, Shetland, Thule, wheresoever

they may have fallen, with their blood. But this can be no reasonable objection against the argument, that they are not taken notice of in their passage across these "hyperborean "waves," if they were those of Dalriada or Argyleshire, returning home by the friths. The Scots, as well as the Picts, could have gone by land; and the distance seems as near, from whatever part of North Britain they may have been flying, though they had not passed through the territories of the Stratclyde Britons, and infinitely more convenient for a retreating enemy. The passage of the Picts and Saxons over the seas, between Caledonia, Thule, and the Orcades, there was no necessity of mentioning; since the Scots did not accompany them, and more especially as their place of destination was particularly marked. It thus appears, that the northern seas, over which the Scots were pursued, were those lying between Ireland and Britain. The hyperborean ocean, here alluded to, was the sea between Hibernia and Scotland. The ocean, which washes the western shores of Caledonia, was, by the ancients, expressly called the hyperborean sea, a name which the friths of Forth and Clyde never received. *Virg. Georg.* lib. iv. p. 317.; *Strabo*, lib. i. p. 109, "*the icy ocean.*"

We have, however, a stronger proof than this, that the seas over which they passed, were those which lie between Scotland and Ireland. "Icy Ireland wept over the slaughtered heaps of the "Scots." *Scotorum cumulos flevit glacilis Ierne. Claud.* iv. *Con. Honorii*, v. 33. The principal reasons, that induced certain writers to consider Ierne as the Scottish Stratherne, were drawn from these expressions, "icy Ireland," and "the slaughtered heaps "of Scots." Claudian cannot mean to say that Ireland was entirely covered with ice; and upon any other terms it may be justly enough called icy, compared with the country that he belonged to. That the Scots were pitied by the Irish, is not sufficient ground for inferring that the battle was fought in Stratherne. Had this been the country of the ancient Scots, they surely might have lamented the loss of so many of their countrymen, had they fallen in Norway or France. This lamentation of the Irish only shews, that some strong bond or connection, such as the ties of kindred or neighbourhood, had subsisted between the inhabitants of both nations. The Scottish writers, if they are destitute of common

honesty, do indeed shew their ingenuity, by maintaining that Stratherne, Ierne, or Ireland, are the same country. This opinion was founded on the position of Ierne, which is thought by some to be placed to the north of Britain, instead of the west, *Strabo*, p. 308, according to the inaccurate notions of Ptolemy, and other ancient geographers.

It appears from Claudian, that the Scots were auxiliaries from Ireland, and went home over the northern seas, upon being subdued by Theodosius. "Upon my approach," says he, in 395, "Stilicho fortified his strongholds, when the Scots moved all Ire-"land, and Thetis foamed with hostile oars." *Me quoque vicinis, peeuntem gentibus, inquit, (Britannia) munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernam movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys. Claudian, de Laud. Stilich.* lib. ii. From this passage it has been inferred, that the Scots of Stratherne, and not of Ierne or Ireland, put it in motion, that Tethys was rather agitated into foam by Saxon, than Hibernian oars. In order to do away with an objection, arising from the smallness of the place, it has been extended as far as Inverness. That Stratherne anciently contained Perthshire, Fifeshire, and all the Northern Highlands, as far as Inverness, because the river Earn, and not Erin, passes through these countries, is no reason for extending its boundaries so widely. Neither the historian, nor the geographer, ever extended the limits of a petty strath to such a magnitude, upon a remote analogy of name in a distant part, when no authority nor ancient writer is found to confirm that analogy, but, on the contrary, the concurring testimony of numbers against it. Earn signifies west; and the river may be so named, because it runs from the west. But we have no authority for saying that Stratherne was ever peopled by the ancient Scots, farther than the assertion of some modern writers, *Mr Maitland, Dr John, and Mr James Macpherson.* Tacitus, *vit. Agric.*, p. 223, 4th edit. Lips., includes in Caledonia all the countries on the north side of the friths of Forth and Clyde. Bede, lib. c. 1, says that the Picts possessed all the northern parts towards the west, which became afterwards the property of the Scots, upon their settlement in Britain. Camden (in Scotia) in the sixth century, restricts the Scottish dominions to Argyle, Kintyre, Knapdail. Adamnan, speaking of the plague that

happened in 702, informs us, that he visited all the nations, unless the Picts and the British Scots, who were divided from each other by Drumalban; that is, the British Scots, in the beginning of the eighth century, were confined to Argyleshire, with the isles of Jura, Hyona, and Ilay, &c. *Vid. Innes.* The Pictish Chronicle observes, that Abernethiac and Fothnertabaicht, Abernethy and Forteviot in Stratherne, were the chief seats of the Pictish kingdom, before the union which afterwards took place between these two nations. Thus the ancient Gaelic Scots, according to these authors, never possessed Stratherne. But as the passage from which the quotation is taken, was a eulogy in praise of Theodosius, who was sent into Britain, and recovered the debatable lands from the Picts in 367, *Ammian. Marcell.* lib. 27, it is probable that the Scots possessed at so early a period, only a part of Argyle. It is very poetical, *Stillingfleet*, to say that he moved all Ireland, taking it for Stratherne, which is but a very inconsiderable part of Caledonia, from whence they might pass beyond the wall, without so much as touching the ocean. Had the Scots been inhabitants of Stratherne, as has been supposed by various writers, it was certainly the easier and more direct way to pass a turf-dike, such as that of Lolius Urbicus, between the Forth and Clyde, in the same place where the present wall stood. *Jul. Capitol. in Antonin.* But it is probable that the Picts had already made a breach in the wall, to enable them to pass; for they came, not "thundering from "the Irish shore," though their route lay in that direction, if Stratherne can be proved to be Ireland. It is a circumstance somewhat strange, that at the last expedition of the Scots and Picts, the former should have been pursued over the Clyde or northern seas, to Stratherne, a valley belonging to the Picts; that on this expedition, they should again be observed moving all Ierne, that is Stratherne, and "lashing the ocean with their hostile oars," when the Picts accompanied them on each of these excursions, and are not so much as taken notice of on their journey, at either time. But it can only be through prejudice, that such circumstances are ever taken for truths. Claudian, doubtless, describes the departure of some auxiliary Scots to Ireland in 367, and their return again, either to assist their countrymen, the Scots of Caledonia, or to share in the prey of the Britons.

For what purpose, it has been asked, *Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit.* c. 5, was a wall built between these two friths, to keep at a distance from the Roman province the Scots and Picts, if their custom was to cross over the friths, and land on the other side of the wall? That he might prove, in the present instance, A. D. 398, these seas to have been those of Ireland, another modern writer, *Stillingfleet, Orig. Britanni, Præf.* p. 63, observes, upon the authority of Gildas and Bede, that the northern inhabitants attempted the wall, and forced themselves a passage. *Bede*, lib. i. c. 12. p. 4. *Irrumpunt terminos.—Tela quibus miserrimi cives, de muris tracti solo allidebantur. Gildas*, c. 15. p. 16. It appears that this writer intended to apply these words to the present passage that we are examining, *Totam cum Scotus Iernam movit, et infesto spumavit remige, &c.*, which he quotes and proceeds to illustrate. He afterwards takes occasion to say, upon the authority of Gildas, that the Irish were only going home, intending to return again, and that the Picts were resting for a while in the distant parts of the isle. *Gildas*, c. 18. p. 17. Yet as his main design, in the preface of his work, is to shew that the Scots were not settled in Britain till the beginning of the sixth century, if he meant these remarks to refer to the Scots, "returning back a little after," he unluckily shews, that they were settled in Britain before the time of Fergus. But wherever they went, they soon after returned.

Gildas and Bede, in the above quotation which we made, are speaking of two very different invasions, both prior to this one which happened in the time of Stilicho in 398. *Vid. Claudian*, lib. ii. *de Laud. Stilic.* The former is giving an account of the last joint expedition of the Picts and Scots, before the first Scottish king ascended the throne. *Vid. Gildas*, c. 15. p. 16. *Bede*, lib. i. c. 12. p. 13. These breaches in the wall, cannot therefore have been made in 398, twenty-eight years before Gildas and Bede mention them. The inference is sufficiently obvious, that Claudian meant to describe the state of Ireland, and the commotions that ensued in that country, previous to the expedition of the Scots in 398.

Another quotation is taken from Claudian, in support of this visionary idea. But this, like the other authorities of the same kind, affords no very material objection against the Irish origin of

these Scottish colonies.

> Thither the legion too from Britain came,
> Which the fierce Scot did curb, and nations tame,
> Who, whilst the painted Picts expiring lie,
> Survey these bloodless figures as they die.

Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis, quæ Scota dat fræna truci, feraque notatas perlegit exanimes, Picto moriente figuras. Claud. de Bel. Getic. p. 107. We admit, that the Scots and Picts lived north of the same wall; but this furnishes no proof, that the people in the island of Ireland were not engaged in these wars, since we have seen that the reasoning made use of by the authors of this opinion is altogether inapplicable to the Scots living in Stratherne. The "*Tethicam vallem*" has been brought forward as an argument in support of this opinion, by the same author. This was a frith or sea mentioned by Gildas, *edit. Gale*, c. 15, where the Picts and Scots are said to have come over in their small boats, or curraughs; and on their return homeward, are called "impudent Irish spoil-"ers." With a mode of reasoning peculiar to himself, this writer, *Mr Maitland*, makes the *Tethicam* or *Theticam vallem* spoken of by Gildas, the strath of Monteith, that is, says he, "the "vale of Teith," so denominated from the river Teith, which runs through it. The strath of Monteith lies west of Stirling, and the Forth runs through it. The Teith, instead of being connected with this valley, is a rapid river, to the north-east of the strath.

But the situation of Monteith in the present instance, is altogether immaterial to the question. The wall which the Romans assisted the Britons to build before they left the island in 426, when this passage over the "*Tethicam vallem*" took place, *Gildas*, p. 14, 15, was situated beside the Solway frith, instead of the Clyde. Gildas, after shewing that a wall was built, both at the public and private expense, from sea to sea, between two cities, informs us, "that on the shore of the ocean to the south, where "the ships of the Romans were situated, towers were built at in-"tervals, looking toward the sea." *A mare usque mare inter urbes. In littore quoque, oceani ad meridianam plagam, quo naves eorum, (Romani) habebantur,—turres per intervalla ad pro-*

spectum maris collocant. Gildas, c. 14. p. 15. Why does Gildas say, that this wall was bounded on both sides by the ocean; whereas, the former one being built of turf, was situated between two estuaries or friths? Why does he say, "that it was built to "the south, on the shores of the ocean?" *Ad meridianam plagam in littore oceani.* If he meant that it was built upon the south of the former wall, then it must have been upon the Solway frith. Or if he intended to shew, that it was only on the south side of the frith, then it could not have been on that of the Clyde. It was built beside the shore of the ocean, in view of the sea, *ad propectum maris*, probably looking towards it; for the phrase can admit of no other meaning, when we are told immediately before, that it stood on the shore, *In littore.* This description agrees perfectly with the situation of the Solway frith. These towers, were they raised upon its shores, which extend sooner into the compass of an ocean, than the long and narrow frith of Clyde, would look directly to the main sea. Besides, it is said, that the Romans left their ships there. *Quo naves eorum (Romani) habebantur. Gildas, Ibid.* This could not have been on the south of the Clyde, else they would have been surrendering them at once to the enemy; since the country was in danger of being altogether destroyed, before the Britons sent for aid to the Romans, *Gildas*, p. 13, so far had the Picts and Scots advanced. But nothing is clearer than this, that the wall built by the Romans before they left the island, was situated at the Solway frith. It was constructed in the same place where the wall of Severus stood, in the immediate neighbourhood of Haynltstad or Hexham, which stands near the ruins, at the wall of Northumberland. *Bede*, lib. i. c. 12, and lib. iii. c. 2. Thus, it is evident, from two of the most ancient historians, that this wall was built on the Solway, at the time when the "*Theticam vallem*" was passed by the Scots from Ireland; for the Picts, who accompanied the Scots, are not said to have passed the valley of Thetis, nor had either need of ships to pass the Forth and Clyde, when they could go by land. We are not left circumstantially to prove, that it was Scots from Ireland, that passed the "*Theticam vallem*," which could be no other but the Irish sea. Gildas afterwards observes, that where the Romans had their ships, they built towers at intervals, looking to the sea; because the barbarians were almost as fierce as wild beasts. *Quo*

naves eorum habebantur, qui et inde, barbaricæ feræ bestiæ, turres per intervalla, ad prospectum maris collocant. Gildas. Had it not been the dread of the Scots, their barbarous enemies, there was no propriety in the Britons raising a wall and towers, or in building it at the Solway, voluntarily to give up to the Scots and Picts, part of their dominions. The fear of the barbarians seems the only cause for such a procedure. Nor would there have been any reason for building towers at the sea side, to look into the ocean, if it had not been the Irish Scots alone whom they dreaded. It is evident, then, that this modern author is mistaken, when he says that the Picts accompanied the Scots over the " *Theticam* " *vallem.*"

That Gildas meant by the " Tethicam vallem," the Irish sea, is also evident from analogy. Claudian uses a space of sea for land, in Ruf. ii. p. 172. *nec multo spatii distantibus æquore vallis;* and we have seen that he used Tethys or Thetis, Goddess of the sea, for ocean, *Claud. de Laud. Stilich.* l. ii. a figure of speech very common among the ancients. Would it not be more natural and consistent with the style of these authors, to translate, " Tethicam vallem," " the valley of Thetis, Goddess of the sea or " the ocean," as the neck of the sea lying between Ireland and Britain may be called a valley. Gildas, c. 11. p. 13. and Bede, lib. i. c. 12. p. 15, denominate the Picts and Scots transmarine nations, when they are describing that invasion made in 421. This expression of Gildas confirms what Bede maintained, that the Scots came over under Reuda, and settled in North Britain. By transmarine nations, the former cannot mean to say that the Scots belonged not to Britain; for the stiffest advocates of antiquity will not admit, that the Picts, who are alluded to in this passage, lived out of Britain. The ancient British historian has here in view, those two nations, which, to the arrival of the Saxons, were the most formidable enemies of the Britons; and he must consequently have been of opinion, that the Scots were settled in North Britain before 420. But Bede afterwards explains these words of Gildas, and shews, that he understood, by transmarine nations, those who lived not in Britain, but the Scots and Picts, beyond the friths. Bede, lib. i. c. 12. This monk, or rather Gildas copied by him, distinguishes the Scots in 446, by the title of Irish spoilers, as appears, upon this expedition. *Impu-*

dentes Hiberni grassatores, Bede, lib. i. c. 14. *Vid. Gildas*, c. 12. It is even very doubtful in the present instance, whether the Scots, in returning home in 446, went to Ergadia; for to Stratherne, the land of the Picts, they could not go. But he is explicit enough, that they were called Hiberni, a proof of their Irish origin. If they went to Ireland, and were Scottish freebooters, who had come over to feed on the spoils of their enemies, then we cannot deny that those who settled in Caledonia in the third century, and were from Ireland, *Bed.* lib. i. c. 1, had been originally of the same race. Or if they returned to Ergadia, their Irish origin is clearly proved.

But it has been farther said, by *Mr Maitland*, p. 93, that the northern parts of Britain were by foreigners promiscuously called Scotland and Ireland; because we are told that Ecgfrid, king of Northumberland, sent an army into Ireland, which committed great depredations, and the following year sent one against the Picts, which was cut off, because he invaded Scotland on the preceding year, which did him no harm. That Ireland was called Scotland we know; Orosius, lib. i. c. 2, and Isidore, *Orig.* lib. xiv. c. 6, give it that name. Bede, we have seen, derived the Scots from it, and this is the only inference that can be made from the passage. From an expression from the Roman Martyrology, it has also been observed, that Scotland was anciently called Ireland. *Maitland*, vol. i. p. 103. It is there said, that St Beanus was first bishop of Aberdeen in Hibernia, and that his tombstone is still to be seen before the door of the cathedral there. But the author of this opinion must be here mistaken. Bean never was bishop of Aberdeen; nor was there a bishop, diocese or cathedral at Aberdeen for 130 years after the death of Beanus. He lived, as he died, bishop of Morthlack, *Keith's Cat. of Scott. Bish.*, which our author inconsistently acknowledges; *Maitland*, vol. i. p. 244; and the monastery to which he belonged was endowed with the lands of Murthlac, Cloveth and Dunmeth.

Thus, the arguments brought forward, to prove that Stratherne was Ierne or Hibernia, mentioned in ancient history, however formidable they may at first appear, seem trifling, and in some measure grounded on misquotation. It has been said by the abettors of this opinion, that many other proofs might have been brought, to attest the truth of the position; yet in the course of this con-

troversy, not one ancient author, by those who agitated it, whose testimony, when compared with the text, shews Ireland to have been situated in Caledonia.

NOTE I.

Orosius, bishop of Seville, who found the Scots in Ireland about the beginning of the fifth century, *vid. supra*, is said, by some of those writers, who deny the Irish origin of the Scots, to have known very little of Ireland or its inhabitants. They affirmed that Gildas was a very bad antiquary; that the testimony of Bede should be laid aside, because it does not always correspond with other writers; that the Scots, who are mentioned by the Roman writers, must have always been inhabitants of Caledonia, else they would have landed on the other side of the Roman wall, and been cut off by the Roman legions, before the Picts could have come to their assistance. *J. Macpherson*, p. cxv. cxvi.

In the last place, those who give implicit confidence to this opinion, that the name of Scot originated in Britain, instead of Ireland, bring forward an argument, which is thought to be decisive, against the Irish extraction of this people. The island, they say, was denominated Alba or Albin, by the Gael, its first inhabitants, *J. Macpherson*, p. 146, and *Caeldoch*, which was softened into Caledonia, by the Romans; and its present inhabitants know themselves by no other name than Albanich or Caledonians. Were we not to mention that the country and its inhabitants were thus denominated by the Roman writers, *Tacitus, in vit. Agric.* p. 231, *Eumen. Panegy. ad Const.; Albanic Duan;* before we hear of such a people as the Scots in Britain, if we except the name of Scotia in the first century, the etymology of the words themselves, which, however little it ought to be trusted, in settling the disputed origin of any nation, is amply sufficient to overturn this opinion. By Mr Pinkerton they have been derived

from the Gothic and German language, with as much propriety, we believe, as they can be from the Celtic. Mor Alban was the name of a place in Scandinavia; *Torfæus, Hist. Norw.* p. 264; and, in the German language, any high hill is called Alben. *Albo pro monte qui cano jugo conspicuus est, sive alto vox est in superiore Germania usitatissima. Vid. etiam Flaetiana,* p. 201.

The term Caledonia probably signifies a broad or a deep wood, *Cale-don;* but to infer, from any etymological derivation of the word, that the Scots were, or were not, the ancient inhabitants of North Britain, is very unsafe. Caledonia was a general name for all the country lying north of the friths of Forth and Clyde; but it is not said whether the inhabitants belonged all to the same race of people. *Ammianus Marcellinus and Eumenius. Vid. supra.* The Caledonia of Greece was surely derived from the same source; and, if so, what importance can be attached to the etymology of a word, which, from the Scythic or German origin of the Greeks, *Herodotus,* lib. ii. lib. i. c. 57. lib. vii. c. 95. lib. i. c. 2; *Pompeius Thucyd.* lib. i. c. 28; *Strabo,* lib. v. and lib. vii; *Herodotus,* l. i. c. 23; *Eusebius,* p. 7, *Epiphanius, adver. Heres.* lib. i. p. 26; *compared together,* must be either indigenal, and consequently of Gothic origin, or a term given them from the peculiar nature of the country, which was hilly, *Homer, Iliad,* vi. c. 640, by their Celtic neighbours? Tacitus is among the first writers, from whom we have any particular information regarding North Britain. He calls the country by the name of Caledonia, *Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ. Tacit. vit. Agric.* Ptolemy, forty years afterwards, denominates the people Caledonians. The country from Loch Fyne, *Lelamonius sinus,* to the frith of Varar, belonged to this people; and above these lay the Caledonia forest. *Ptolemy.* They were considered as part of the Picts in 368. *Non dico Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum. Constant.* I.; and some time after the Scots are mentioned, the term Dicaledones was peculiarly applicable, and usually given only to a part of this people. *Picti in gentes divisi, Dicaledones et Vecturiones, et Scotti per diversa vagantes. Amm. Marcell.* lib. xxvii. p. 546, and lib. xxx. Had the Scots been Caledonians, or of Pictish descent, why are they not so denominated by ancient writers? They can have no pretensions to the term Ca-

ledonia, but as a borrowed epithet from the Picts; for to say that they are Caledonians, because they are descended of the Picts, is taking for granted what has never been proved. The inhabitants, north of the Roman settlements in Britain, were called Caledonii; *Richard's Latin Itiner. de Cal.* lib. i. c. 1, *proprie sic dicti*; and Constantine defeated that people about the year 310. *Eusebius, vit. Constant.* lib. xxv. Dio, in the account that he gives of the expedition by Severus, calls the country Caledonia, and the people Caledonians. *Dio, edit. Wechel.* p. 866. But we never find them so denominated after the Roman writers by any British chronicle or historian. The silence of Bede, on this name, is quoted as a proof that the Caledonians were nearly extinct on the arrival of the Picts, *Stillingfleet*, p. 240, although it rather appears that the term, which was exclusively applied to the Picts of this country, had only fallen into disuse. Even the most ancient British historian, who flourished about the middle of the sixth century, Gildas, seems not to have known the term. Bede, who had his information from later writers, posterior to the Romans, and the people of his own time, and who in many places gives a liberal transcript of Gildas, does not take notice of it.

It appears, then, that the country north of Loch Fyne and the Tay was known during the time that the Romans were in Britain, by the name of Caledonia, and its inhabitants as Caledones or Diucaledones. The Vecturiones or Picts of Ammian, lib. xxvii. p. 346. l. 30, were placed in Fife, Angus, and on the east of Scotland beyond the friths, south of the Grampians. *The Latin Itinerarium of Richard.* The British Scots, if they were ever known by the name, must have assumed it from their neighbours and allies the Picts, since no Roman writer ever represents them as Caledonians, before the fourth century; and the term, after that time, seems to have gone into disuse.

We have already seen, that the greater part of historians, both ancient and modern, agree, that the Scots came, for the most part, from Ireland to North Britain, and there remained in a distinct settlement from the Picts, its former inhabitants. But this is not sufficient for a certain modern writer, *Dr Macpherson*, who, after calling in question St Jerome's own words, in his transla-

tion of Porphyrius, proceeds, contrary to every other writer on the subject, and even in despite of common sense, to join the *condicta* of Ammian, lib. vi. with *rupta quiete;* because, says he, "they look very like a solecism in grammar and sense." *In Britannis cum Scotorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum, excursus rupta quiete, condicta loca limitibus vicinia vastarent.* But, however like a solecism it might appear, so trifling an advantage gained, did not call for an open violation of all sense. To transfer *condicta* from *loca* may conceal the author's meaning of the word "*loca;*" but its junction with "*rupta quiete,*" rather weakens it by redundancy, than adds force to the meaning of the expression; or, what is much more to the purpose, disposes of a word, which in any other way could not have been got rid of. The quotation, which has been made by Dr Macpherson, p. 65, to prove that the Scots were not a wandering race, upon their first appearance in Britain, "He took the field against all the hostile "nations at once, and attacked their plundering bands with suc- "cess," shews, that the Scots, like every other nation, were at that time given to plunder, when advantages presented themselves. How can this interpretation of his be reconciled with another passage of Ammianus Marcellinus, where the Picts are said to have been divided into two nations? The Attacotti are characterized as a warlike nation; the Scots as a people wandering through different parts; and the whole are said to have been much given to predatory excursions. *In duas gentes divisi,—Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio; et Scoti, per diversa vagantes, multo populabantur. Vid. supra.*

The Irish language differs essentially from the ancient and modern Welsh, and is nearly allied to the Gaelic. But this proves as much, that the ancient Scots are descended from the Irish, as that the Irish are descended from the ancient Scots. It has indeed been said, that these two races of people are both called Guidhill by the Welsh; and the Picts, according to a very able judge, are honoured with the same name from his countrymen. The Irish and Scots may, consistently enough, together with the Welsh too, have been called Guidhill, or Gael. But that the Picts are so denominated, we do not know; and the author of this opinion has neglected to quote his authority. The one

was of Gaelic, the other of Gothic origin, and, consequently, could never have anciently been known by such a name.

NOTE L.

It is almost unnecessary to take notice of an observation, which has been made by an intelligent modern author, that Scotland, the name of this country, and Scots, the name of the people, being both borrowed from Ireland, never belonged to it till the reign of Malcolm II. *Mr Pinkerton*, vol. ii. p. 223, 235. It must already have appeared, from ancient history, that the name of Scotia was known in Caledonia in the first century, and the name of Scots in the third. The eastern inhabitants of Scotland are said by this writer, according to the Pictish Chronicle, to have been uniformly called Scots; *Pinkerton*, vol. ii. p. 235; and the western Goedili, by a special distinct name. We find, indeed, from the Chronicle of the Picts, that the western inhabitants, or Dalriads, were called Goedili; but that the eastern inhabitants of North Britain are denominated Scots, is no where apparent from that record. Cinadius, or Kenneth M'Alpin, is expressly said to have been the first of the Scottish kings who reigned in Pictavia. *Primus Scotorum rexit Pictaviam,—Bellum factum est inter Constantinum, et Regnale, et Scoti habuerunt, &c. Chronicon Pictorum.* And he is said to have governed Dalriada two years before he came to the Pictish throne. But perhaps Mr Pinkerton may have meant, that he was the first of the Picts, not of the Scots, who ascended the Pictish throne. The *Descriptio Albaniæ* has been quoted, as a proof, that Argyle was a distinct country from Scotia, and possessed by the Gael or Hiberni, a different people from them. *Mr Pinkerton. Montes qui dividunt Scotiam ab Arregaithel.* This chronicle does indeed speak of the mountains which divide Scotia from Argyle; but the author has forgotten to add the preceding part of the sentence, "These are its two arms." *Brachia autem ejus sunt ipsi—montes qui dividunt.* The writer of this chronicle compares Albany to the figure of a man. He says, that this region, which is now corruptly known by the name

of Scotia, was anciently called Albany. *Quod illa regio, quæ nunc corrupte vocatur Scotia, antiquitus appellabatur Albania.* He likens the mountains, which divide it from Argyle, to the arms of the man, which must surely be part of his body, or Albany corruptly called Scotland, more especially when Argyle; the western part of Scotland, is said to have been his head. *Caput est in Arregaithel, in occidentale parte Scotiæ supra mare Hyberniæ. Descriptio de situ Albaniæ.* It is, indeed, offering an outrage to all ancient records, to say that the latter Scots, who lived in North Britain after the year 1056, received not their name from the Scoti Britanniæ of Bede and Adamnan. Kenneth M'Alpin, the last king of the ancient Gaelic Scots, died monarch of the united kingdoms in Forteviot, the principal seat of the Pictish nation, and at that time the seat of the Scottish monarchy, which was transferred from Ergadia. *Hic mira caliditate duxit Scotos de Ergadia, in terram Pictorum. Register Excerpt. St Andr.* From that period, the kings of these two united nations were called kings of the Scots, *Chronicon Elegiacum Kenneth Alpin, Dungal reges Scotorum;* and the country over which they held the reins of government was denominated Scotland, down to a late period. *Regnavit in Scotia* 897; *Reges Scotorum, to* 969; *Reges Scotiæ, to* 1056. *Chronicon Pictorum.*

Mr Pinkerton will not allow that those who were denominated Scots in Pictland, borrowed the name from the ancient Scots at the union of the two kingdoms, although the king who reigned over them at that time and all Pictland, was emphatically called king of the Scots. Yet he does not deny, that the Dalreudini called themselves Albanach, from their situation in Pictland, *Pinkerton*, vol. ii. p. 234; although, in the next page, he infers, that as they were not the Scots, so neither could they be the Albani. It has been observed, that had the Scots of Britain, that is the Picts and Scots, been the real posterity of a people from Ireland, they would not have preferred Albanach, the name of the Caledonians or Picts, to the indigenal one of Erinich. Albanach was a name given both to the Scots and Picts, and seems to have been applied principally to the latter, as Albany was the ancient name of the country, where the Irish colonies settled. The bishop of St Andrew's was called bishop of Albany, *Episcop. Alban.*

i. e. *Episcopi Albanic appellantur. De Reg. St Andreæ, MS. Harl.* 4628. Thirty kings of the name of Brude reigned over Albany; *Chron. Pictorum, ex Cod. MS. Bibl. Colbertin,* "*a quo* 30 *Brude regnaverunt Hiberniam et Albaniam;*" and during the reign of Constantine son of Eth, in 906, the Normans are said to have overrun all this country, at the same time that the Picts formed a part of the army of Constantine, king of Albany. *Ethelwerd. f.* 483; *Chron.* p. 937; *Ingulfus*, p. 37, *edit.* 1684. The island of Britain was first named Albion; and seventy kings are said to have reigned over it. *Chron. App. Pinkert.* N. 6. The Scots overcame the Picts who at that time possessed Albany on this side of Drum Alban, but no farther. *Scoti, postquam vicerunt Pictos, qui tunc colucrunt Albaniam, citra Drum Alban, sed minus ultra. Ex tunc Albaniæ regnum totale regebat;* and Kenneth governed the whole kingdom of Albany, that is, Dalriada and Pictland, which seem to have been both known by that name. It would appear from the expression, "Albany on this side of Drum Alban, but no farther," that the whole of North Britain or Caledonia was denominated Albany, before we hear of the Scottish colonies, who settled in Argyle. From Erch, the father of Fergus, to the time of Malcolm III, fifty-two monarchs of that royal race had ascended successively the throne of that kingdom; and Kenneth, the son of Alpin, king of the Scots, was the first who is said to have reigned over Albany. *Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kenedhus. Chron. Melros. et Chronic. Ellegiacum;* which in the fifth century was known by the name of Britannia, on account of its white rocks, which were washed by the sea. *Albion insula est, hodie Britannia dicta, ab albis rupibus, quas mare abluit. Stephanus of Byzantium.* It thus appears that the name was principally applied to Pictland and Ergadia, or in a general sense to North Britain.

It is of no avail to say, that the Scots, by retaining, without interruption, through all ages, the distinction of Albanach, are sprung from the ancient inhabitants of Albany, as the Cumri, from the Gomerians or Cimbri, and consequently were the genuine Caledonians. Pytheas and Isidorus marked the circumference of Albany at about 3800 miles, before any of the Scottish colonies had settled in Caledonia. *Plinius*, lib. iv. c. 16.

NOTE M.

THE Scots, as we have seen, came for the most part from Ireland, although the name may probably have been transferred, in the first century, to the Britons, in Albany. But, for the time of their settlement, we have various authorities. The Irish writers agree, that the Dalreudini or Scots were living in Caledonia, under Riada, a leader of the Degads of Munster, in the time of Cormac O'Cuin, nephew to Conary II, who died in two hundred and twenty. *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.* p. iii. c. 69. *O'Conor, Diss. Hist. Scot. Dublin* 1766. *Kenned. Dissert.* 8vo. *Vid. Pinkerton.* The account, however, of these modern writers, deserves but little notice. One of the first Roman writers who mentions the Scots, towards the latter end of the reign of the emperor Constantius in 360, shews, from the inhabitants being struck with so much the greater terror of these enemies, that they were already wearied with the ravages which they had made in former times. *Præteritarum cladium congerie fessas. Amm. Marcell.* l. 15. This account seems to correspond with the arrival of Eochod Riada in Caledonia, A. D. 258; for Bede leaves it uncertain, whether they obtained their possessions in Pictland, by favour or force. *(Scoti) duce Reuda de Hybernia egressi, vel amicitia vel ferro, sibimet inter eos (Pictos) sedes quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt. Bed. Hist. Eccl.* l. i. The descendants of Conary, "the gentle-"man, or mild king of Ireland," who died about the year 220, settled in Albany among the Picts, *Duan Albanic;* and were powerful chiefs, who maintained a pre-eminence among the colonists, notwithstanding the republican notions which were at that time prevalent. Fergus, the first king of the Scots, the son of Erch, was a descendant of Conary, together with Eochoid Riada. *Albanic Duan.* Riada lived twelve generations before Fergus, *Fordun and Diceto;* and the Scots were, according to Mr Pinkerton, in general of opinion, that there were fourteen between this prince and Fergus. But they do not seem to have been agreed upon this point. Some allow eight, some six, and others three be-

tween Riada and Erch. Mr O'Flaherty, in his genealogy of James II, and the book of Lecan, gives 11, including Riada and Erch.

Scottish Genealogy from Riada to Fergus.	Irish Genealogy.
Eochod Riede.	1. Eocha Riada.
1. Feachrach Fathmail.	2. *Kinta.*
2. *Eocha Midoth.*	3. *Fedlim-lave-dhoidh-cuige.*
3. *A Kirkir.*	4. Fiachra Faithmail.
4. *Findach.*	5. *Fergus Ulladh.*
5. *Cruich linch.*	6. Æneas Fear.
6. *Sencormac.*	7. Eocha Munremor.
7. *Fethelma Romach.*	8. Erc.
8. *Angusa Butin.*	9. Fergus.
9. *Fethelme Arlingret.*	
10. Angus Fir.	
11. Eocha Munremor.	
12. Erch.	
13. Fergus.	

The names of the ancestors of our Scottish monarchs, who lived previously to the accession of Fergus, are by no means accurately ascertained. The Irish race of Dalriadic chiefs is taken from the Book of Lecan, and some ancient MSS.; and the Scottish from the Chronicles which Fordun collected, that is, from the forty-five fabulous kings. *Fordun, edit. Hearne*, l. v. c. 50. p. 487 and 751, *Pinkerton, and Innes.* From whatever quarter Fordun had these Chronicles, such of them as have been handed down to modern times, are silent upon the names of these chiefs, with the exception of Riada; and we are strongly inclined to believe, that he had no better authority for them, than tradition. There is at least one thing manifest, that from Angus Fir to the first Scottish monarch, both the Irish and Scottish chiefs' list was the same.

NOTE N.

THE colony which came over with Carbre Riada was, according to some Irish writers, driven from the island by the Picts, with Eochad Munremor, and was neither established by him nor his son Erch, till the time of Loarn or Fergus in 503. *O'Conor, O'Flaherty's Vindication of Ogygia*, Dublin, 1715, page 163. Eocha Munremor was acknowledged as chief of the Scots, an office which he held for twelve or thirteen years. *Albanic Duan.*

Allowing the expulsion of that people, which is said to have taken place under their leader Eochad Munremor, in the beginning of his administration, it must have been effected in 478, twenty-five years before the period, when, as we shall afterwards see, Fergus became king; and neither agrees with the time, A. D. 446, when the expression of Gildas is thought warrantable for the expulsion of the whole nation, nor with the length of its duration, forty-three years. *Fordun*, l. iii. c. 1. p. 171, *edit. Hearne, and O'Conor.*

The Scottish account of this expulsion, given by Fordun and his followers, *Fordun*, l. ii. c. 44-49, and l. iii. c. 1. 2. which is said to have happened in 360, like the Irish, is supported on no good authority. The only ground for this belief, which he found, was a passage from Sigebert, and the feats of Maximus from Geofry, together with a Latin poem, which shews the length of their exile to have been forty-three years.

Agmine condenso ventis velamina pandit:
Et ratis æquoreas atque galea petunt
Fluctus: in his acies juvenum phalerata superbo
Principe congreditur. Nec mora turba potens
Ad natale solum properat; relevare jacentes
Rex fasces regni cespite, sospes adit
Intrepidus patrio, pandens vexilla leonis,
Terruit occursu quem fera nulla ferox.

Ocius advenit, fuerat quæ turbine diro
Subdita plebs, annis X, quater et tribus; hæc
Congaudens, patrio regi servire parata
Ad libertatem, quicquid ut orbe, volat.

Father Innes has concluded, that this poem is no older than the time of Alexander II, on whose seal and shield the lion rampant, which is here placed on the banner of Fergus II, was first found. Its antiquity, as we have seen, seems indeed very questionable, not only from this circumstance, but also from the style of the verses themselves. The exile of the Scots, which he declared to have lasted forty-three years, and ended in a restoration, A. D. 403, agrees not with the expedition of Theodosius, seven years after they were driven from Ergadia. It is also at variance with the usurpation of Maximus by twenty-three years, since he was not proclaimed emperor till three hundred and eighty-three, and set off immediately upon his proclamation by the soldiers, in order to surprise the emperor Gratian. *Zozimus; Gildas,* c. 10. p. 12.

Fanecius was of opinion, that the Scots were banished from Britain in 378; Buchanan, that it lasted twenty years. But Matthæus Westeriensis says, that the Picts and Scots returned along with the Dacæ and Norwegians in 634, and took possession of the whole island, up to the Roman wall, after they had both been banished from Britain, that is, the Roman provinces of Britain. Thus it appears that no two writers are agreed upon this point.

We have now seen, what credit ought to be attached to the Scottish and Irish accounts of this expulsion and restoration by Fergus, which disagree with one another two whole centuries, and the force of an expression of Gildas, that can certainly be accounted for, without sending into Ireland, the whole Scottish nation. Whether it was an expedition of Fordun, as Father Innes supposes, we do not know; but this I think we can safely advance, that as yet nothing in history has been found adequate, to support the credibility of such an event. Gildas, who lived and wrote about fifty years afterwards, and whose invectives against the Scots are numerous, would not have failed to mark the expulsion of an ene-

my, who brought so many calamities on his nation, if the circumstance had been true. Neither Gildas, the father of British history, nor Bede, who lived little more than a century and a half after him, take any notice of this expulsion; and their silence in so rare a circumstance, as the expulsion of a whole nation, may be safely taken as a proof of its falsehood. Bede, from the following expression, would, on the contrary, lead us to suppose, that they had never, from the time of their original settlement, quitted the country. *Duce Reuda de Hibernia egressi, sibimet sedes, quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt. Bed. Hist. Eccl.* "Who emi-"grating from Ireland under their leader Reuda, either by friend-"ship or arms, took possession of those seats among them, which "they hold to this day." The Chronicon Rythmicum, the first part of which, containing eight books, seems to have been taken from ancient and cotemporary chronicles,—*Hactenus hæc dicta novi, per chronica scripta a modo quæ novi scriptis describere novi, Chronicon Rythmicum ex MSS. Col. Scot. Paris,*—may be relied upon, in as far as it leaves out the fabulous account of the first forty kings, and is corroborated by other authentic records. It testifies against the exile of the Scottish nation to Ireland, and says that the Scots lived in Argyle, for a long time under the law of nature, without any king, till Fergus brought over the fatal stone. *In tamen Ergadia vixit per tempora multa, hæc gens Scottorum, sub lege naturæ, sed sine rege, donec ad Ergadiam tulit audax nomine quidam Fergusius lapidem. Chronic. Rythmicum.* That the Scots left Argyle, and were restored again by Fergus, is a circumstance nowhere to be found in this chronicle. It is, however, necessary to observe, that this chronicle, contrary to all the ancient Scottish records, would lead us to suppose, from the mention it makes of the fatal stone being brought from Ireland by Fergus, that he had been in Ireland. One part of this chronicle, which often blends truth with falsehood, seems to have been written in those times, when the fables of the Irish had usurped the place of history. The writer himself acknowledges that he had it from written chronicles, *per chronica scripta, Chronic. Rythmicum, in the beginning of* c. 24, probably while our old historical documents were still in existence, or at least from those

which now remain, together with other accounts, which may probably have been the fanciful details of the Irish. But if any one can believe the origin of this stone of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, on which the Scottish kings were usually crowned, *Chronicon Rythmicum*, c. 11, he certainly cannot be contemned, if he should give credit, not only to the recovery of the stone by Fergus II, but also to his long line of ancestry up to Milo, king of Spain, one of whose ancestors, Gaithilglas, being only the twenty-second time removed from Japhet, stole this famous stone in Egypt, from whence it was carried to Ireland.

The Albanic Duan, the oldest and the most correct of all our national records, is, like the rest, silent on the exile of the Scots and their restoration. The Irish writers produce the testimony of Tighernac, that Fergus came from Ireland in 483. *Fergus Mor MhacErcha, cum gente Dalriada, partem Britanniæ tenuit, et ibi mortuus est. Tighernac.* The phrase "*tenuit partem* "*Britanniæ*," may intimate that he took possession of part of Britain, but it may also imply, that Fergus lived and died in Britain.

NOTE O.

The history of the Scottish monarchy extends from 503 to 843, when it was united with the Pictish kingdom, by Kenneth I. For this period of three hundred and forty years, the ancient Scottish chronicles assign only twenty-three years, as the average length of a king's reign, the Albanic Duan thirty-three, making no less a difference than ten years. The number of kings given by Fordun, and the Scottish chronicles, seems incorrect, both from the medium number of years, assigned to a generation and a king's reign, either at a fair average of the reigns of the Scottish monarchs to the death of James VII. in 1701, or that of the race of Brude in 842. From the accession of Fergus to the Scottish throne in 503, to the death of James VII, there are only fifty-nine monarchs, and thirty-two generations, including the twenty-four kings of Fordun, and the Latin Chronicles; and one thousand

one hundred and ninety-eight years, which forms a medium of a little more than twenty years to a king's reign, and thirty-seven to a generation. But if we take the Albanic Duan list of thirty-four kings, our proportion standing at little more than thirty-one years to a generation, and between seventeen and eighteen years for every king's reign; at a medium calculation, comes near to the average period of a man's life, thirty years, and the computation of Sir Isaac Newton. In the Pictish succession, a race, which was contemporary with the ancient Scots, we have a still surer criterion for settling the chronology of the Scottish sovereigns, as their history has not been the subject of such controversy. From the beginning of Drust's reign in 406, *Chronic. Antiquor. Pictorum, secunda pars,* during which the gospel was first introduced by St Ninian, among the Picts, to the time of Kenneth, A. D. 843, a space of four hundred and thirty-seven years, we have forty-six kings. *Chronic. Antiquor. Pictorum.* The average length of their respective reigns for 343 years, the duration of the ancient Scottish monarchy, would have reduced them to the number thirty-three. The Albanic Duan, which gives twenty-nine or thirty Scottish kings for that period, wants only three or four to make the proportion the same as that of the Pictish catalogue, which deficiency is made up by the annals of Ulster. It is obvious then, both from the number of the Pictish monarchs, and the average period of the ancient Scottish generation, and a king's reign, that no less than thirty-three or thirty-four princes sat on the Scottish throne, during the period of which we are treating. The antiquity of the Duan, which was written in 1056 or 1093, in the time of Malcolm III, in addition to those other reasons, is enough of itself to secure its preference, being more ancient, nearly by two centuries, than most of the other Scottish chronicles.

NOTE P.

It is almost unnecessary to shew, what must already have appeared, that Fergus, son of Erch, and not Fergus, son of Ferchard,

was the first Scottish monarch. This appears from all the ancient chronicles. *Fergus filius Erch fuit primus, qui de semine Chonare suscepit regnum Albaniæ. Chronic. Scottorum Regum ex cod. MSS. Colbertino, et Chronic. de situ Albaniæ. Fergus filius Herch primus in Scotia regnavit. The Chart de St Andr., written about* 1251, *before the destruction of our records.* Father Innes has shewn that Fordun himself entertained the same opinion. Though the whole design of the second book of this chronicle, is to make Fergus, son of Ferchard, and the other forty-four ideal personages, kings, before the reign of Fergus, son of Erch, and, notwithstanding, he supposes him to have possessed some land beyond Drumalban, in the territories of the Picts, and to have reigned sixteen years; all these interpolations have not been able to disguise the conformity of his words, to those of the ancient chronicles which we have quoted. *(Fergus filius Erch), tribus (ultimis) annis ultra Drumalbayn, hoc est ultra dorsum Albaniæ, primus regnavit Scotici generis, (in terra Pictorum), a montibus ad mare (Scoticum) regnavit. Fordun. Scotichronicon.* But this is no less manifest, from other documents, which were written before the time that Edward I. carried away the records of ancient times. Fergus was the first who reigned in Argyle. *Primus in Ergadia Fergus rexit tribus annis. Chronic. Rythmicum, ex Coll. Scot. Paris.* The Scots are said to have had monarchs in Britain, while the Pictish kingdom was yet an independent state, during a space of 312 or 332 years, *Hi cum prædictis regnaverunt tempore Pictis, quod trecentos quater octoque continet annos; his annis et tres debetis jungere menses, Chronicum Scotum Rythmicum,* which, from the union of the two kingdoms, will reach to the sixth century, when Fergus succeeded to the Scottish kingdom. Alexander III. was the fifty-first king of the Scots, *Qui quinquagenus regum fuit ordine primus, Chron. Scotum Rythmicum,* a term which agrees exactly with the Chronica Regum Scotorum, and the Register of St Andrew's, in regard to the number of kings, from Fergus, son of Erch, down to his time. Thus, all these records of antiquity, written upon various occasions, by different persons, who had no communication with one another, before the destruction of our national documents in 1291, agree that Fergus, son of Erch, was the first

Scottish monarch, and differ both from Fordun and his followers, who wrote posterior to that time. Winton, thinking it impossible, that ten or eleven generations, which he found between Kenneth M'Alpin, who lived 800 years after Christ, could fill up a space of 1200 years, chooses rather to make Fergus, son of Erch, the first Scottish monarch, *Winton Chron. in Mar. Coll. Bib. Abred. or Bib. Cotton. Nero D.* xi, l. i. iii. f. 30, and to bring down the Scottish monarchy to its proper epoch. *Winton*, l. iii. fol. 7. l. iv. f. 43. *Vid. Innes.* This is a certain proof, that Winton, who lived between 1395 and 1415, thirty-two years before Fordun wrote, had never seen his chronicle, or knew it to be incorrect in these particulars, otherwise he would not have failed to mention it, as the distinction of Fergus, son of Erch, and Fergus, son of Ferchard, would have solved his difficulties, had there been two such persons.

Various have been the opinions respecting the proper epoch of the Scottish monarchy. Fordun, and his followers, say that Fergus began his reign in 403. It is generally agreed upon, that there are but two generations, namely Dongal son of Fergus, and Gabrian son of Dongard, the father of Aidan, between Fergus and this prince his great grandson. Fergus began his reign in 403, and died in 419, and Aidan his great grandson died in 605; *Father Innes* allowing no more than three generations to fill up a space of a hundred and eighty-six years, or nearly two centuries. This is contrary to the generally received opinion of thirty years to a generation, and the truth of what has really happened, from actual observation, in the genealogy of our Scottish kings. From the death of Aidan, in 605, to that of James VII. of Scotland, we have thirty-six generations, and only 1096 years, which, yielding little more than thirty years to a generation, amounts to about ten generations for every three centuries. Fordun, as Mr Innes has shewn, has obviated this defect, by adding three supernumerary kings, Eugenius, Constantine, and Ethodius, together with Kinatill, who reigned three months, and has, besides, been careful to add several years to each king's reign. This is contrary to the ancient catalogue of our kings, and to the account which Fordun himself gives, namely, that Aidan was the great grandson of Fergus. The Chronica Regum Scotorum, the Register of St Andrew's, the

Chronicle in Latin verse, those of Winton and Gray, and the Albanic Duan, all agree, that Aidan died in 605. If we take the joint reigns of Fergus, Dongard, Congal, Gauran, Congal and Aidan, we will find, that they amount to upwards of a hundred, the number which Fordun has assigned to the three fabulous kings, Eugen, Constantine and Ethodius, together with the twenty-four, which he has aded to Fergus and Gauran, contrary to the accounts of all the ancient Chronicles. *Tighernac Annal. which were written in* 1080, *and the Latin Chronicles.*

Loarn seems to have been in Ireland, if the observation has not been borrowed from the annalists of former times; but this depends upon the resemblance between the terms Loarn and Lori, who may be two different persons. *Lorimonie quidam primus ad Ergadiam. Chronic. Rythmicum.* Fergus son of Erch, with his two brothers, Loarn and Tenegus or Angus, were afterwards buried in Hyona, *cum fratribus duobus Loarn et Tenegus sepulti fuerunt, Reg. St Andr.;* the former of whom was called a chief leader among the Scots by Tighernac.

NOTE Q.

It is a circumstance worthy of our notice, to investigate, amidst this anarchy and confusion, whether the house of Fergus, or Loarn, or either of them, held the Scottish kingdom at this time. Alpin is said to have been the son of Achy Annuine, who was a descendant of Aodh-Finn, *Reg. St Andr.; Chronic. Pictorum; and the Latin Chronicles.* Achy Annuine lived in 726, and Aodh-Finn in 736, *Duan Albanic;* so that the latter, who succeeded him in the kingdom, could not be his father, nor Alpin the son of Achy Annuine, since there is upwards of a century between the time of their death. This may have occasioned the reigns of Selvach and Achy Annuine to have been thrown back immediately before Dungal and Alpin, to confirm what was at least probable, that Alpin was descended from the race of Fergus. *Vid. Pinkerton.* But although it be impossible directly to show the father of Alpin,

it may be circumstantially, and indeed positively proved, that he was not of a foreign race. Angus is the last of that house, whose genealogy we can trace up to the first monarch. He is said to have been the son of Dunlaing, king of the sept of Argyle, *Ulster Annal.* 811. 746. 740, who was the only son of Duncan, denominated king of Kintyre in 720. Six years afterwards, Egchtagh, who was the son of Achy Rinneval, *Tighernac*, the son of Domangart, the son of Donal Breac, *Ulster Annal. ibid.* divided Argyle between himself and Selvach, who died in 726, *Annal Ulster.* A. D. 726. But although Selvach himself was dead, his sons Dungal and Ferach were still alive in 735, when they were put in chains by the king of the Picts, as well as their cousin-german Murdach. This prince, who died next year, held the reins of government during a space of three years. It is very improbable, that he, and the sons of Selvach, who were the only known representatives of the house of Loarn, should have tamely yielded up their patrimonial estates in Loarn, and part of Argyle. Egchtagh divided Argyle between Selvach and himself; and it is more likely that Duncan, king of the sept of Argyle, received those lands, which gave him that title, from Fergus II, whose family was at variance with the chiefs of Loarn, than from Murdach, a descendant of that house, his hereditary enemy. It is therefore manifest that Dunlaing was not of the house of Loarn; because, had he received the sept of Argyle, at the death of Murdach in 736, to whose race Duncan his father was hostile, it could have been granted upon no other condition, but to attach to their interest an ally from the house of Fergus, with which he seems always to have been on amicable terms.

Still less reason have we for believing, that he was of a foreign race, because he was the son of Duncan, *Ulster Annal.* 746, whose reign expired twenty-three years before Scotland received that shock from the Picts, which alone could have afforded them an opportunity, of placing one of their princes on her throne. It is obvious, then, that Duncan Beg, or Little Duncan, king of Kintyre, was not only not of a foreign family, but a lineal descendant of one of the branches of the house of Fergus. It also appears that the kings of Argyle still belonged to the same house, even after Achy Annuine, who is thought by some modern writers to have been

the last of that house, *Mr Pinkerton*, vol. ii. part iv. c. 5. p. 129; and that Angus, who died in 814, a lineal descendant of Duncan, belonged to the same family.

It is not likely that Alpin could have been a descendant of the Picts, as has been supposed by Mr Pinkerton, *ibid.* They were by this time so reduced, that they could not contend with so comparatively powerful a kingdom, as the Scottish nation had now become. In 710, the Picts met with a great slaughter from the Saxons in the camp of Manan, where Finguin son of Delaroith fell, *Tighernac Annal.*; and in the same year they were vanquished by the Dalriudhins, *Ulster Annal.* Two years afterwards Kinioid, who seems to have been a brother of Nethan, was defeated and killed. Mathgennan was cut off the same year in which Talorc, son of Drust, was put in chains by his brother King Nethan III. *Tighernac.* The standard of rebellion seems indeed to have been reared in the Pictish dominions for a series of years; the blackest designs were meditated against Drustan, who was put to death six years after the overthrow of Kinioid. Drust VII. entered into a conspiracy against the life of Nethan III, who fell a victim to the ambition of this daring subject; and the whole kingdom, which was tottering to its very base, was miserably torn by intestine feuds and civil warfare, when this usurper assumed the name of king in 725. *Tighernac.* These disorders brought over a foreign enemy to their shores, by whom the Picts were vanquished in almost every engagement, *Lachrymabile bellum, Ulster Annal.*; till at last the kingdom was greatly reduced, and drained of its native strength. They had not time to recover from those civil wars, which had carried away the flower of the nation, when the Stratelyde Britons met them again in the battle of Catho in 743, in which Talorgan, the son of Vergust, and the brother of Unguist, their leader, fell. *Tighernac.* In 788 a dreadful slaughter was made in that nation by the Norwegians, who had already infested Britain with their Gothic swarms. A civil war again broke out between two of their provinces, at the same time that Connal and Macteigh were vanquished by Constantine, the son of Vergust, who afterwards succeeded him in the kingdom. Thus the Pictish nation, torn by intestine disorder, and reduced to so low an ebb, as afterwards to be conquered by the Scots, was more likely to receive their own kings

from the Scottish nation, than to place a Pictish monarch on the Dalriadic throne.

Neither is the opinion, which refers the origin of Alpin to the house of Loarn, supported on much better grounds of probability, than his Pictish extraction. When we consider the declining state of that house, and the growing power of Kintyre, which since the reign of Duncha Beg extended the sceptre for the most part over all Scotland, there is little probability that he could be descended from this family. In the time of Selvach, before the Picts had reduced the power of Loarn, the house of Fergus had left such inconsiderable territories to the rival family, that if the Picts had not invaded the kingdom, it would have stood in great danger of being soon annihilated. Dungal and Ferach, the two sons of Selvach, were put in chains in 735, by the king of the Picts, and we hear no more of them. Murdoch their cousin died in 736. It is not likely that their race was entirely extinct, since there are two Conals and a Constantine, of whose origin we know nothing. Yet the declining state of their affairs, the flourishing condition of the house of Fergus, and the descent of Angus from the same house, *Ulster Annal.* make it more than probable, that Alpin, who reigned twenty-four years after Angus, was descended of the same race; but, at all events, he was not sprung from a foreign family.

We have, however, a still more particular account concerning the genealogy of Alpin king of Scotland. Alpin was the son of Heoged Annuine, or Eochal Venenosus, who was the son of Hethfin, Aodhfin or Edalbus, the son of Heoged Rinneval, or Eochal Curvinasi. *The Chronic. Melrose, the Chronica Regum Scotorum, and the Regist. St. And.* The old chronicles are certainly wrong as to the succession of some of these kings. According to a more ancient authority than either of them, the Albanic Duan, Aod or Hethfin reigned, as we have seen, ten years after Achy Annuine, so that Alpin could not be the son of Heoged or Achy Annuine. But although they are incorrect as to the order, it certainly does not follow that they are wrong as to the genealogy. They are agreed that the race of Fergus sat on the throne in the person of Alpin, who may have been the son of Hethfin or Aodhfin, who died in 766. This prince was the son of Achy Annuine, who

died in 733, the son of Achy Rinnevall, *Tighernac*, the son of Domangart, the son of Donal Breac, who left the throne to Domangart, in 642, *Tighernac*, since there would only be seventy-five years between the death of Alpin, and that of Aodh-fin, a period which, although it be considerable, has certainly been paralleled, during the course of twelve generations, in the history of any nation. But if the long reigns of his father, and the death of Fergus, the son of Aodhfin in 779 or 780, should seem any objection to this opinion, the agreement of both chronicles, that Alpin was of the house of Fergus, although they may be wrong as to his immediate parent, is sufficient authority; when we have seen that he could not have been a Pictish prince, and that the power of Loarn was too much on the decline, to leave any reasonable doubt, in which house the crown would continue permanent.

Dungal and Alpin are the only Scottish kings, which the chronicles take notice of, from Kenneth to Murdach, who is inserted between the two Eogans or Aodh II. and Eoganan, to prevent them from being mistaken as one person. The omission of the eight kings who flourished between the time of Murdach and Aodh II. or Heatgan, is, with the exception of Fergus, said to have happened in the same manner. *Pinkerton.* But if they are not taken notice of in some of these chronicles, their history is well authenticated by other records.

NOTE R.

ALTHOUGH Brude is said to have given Columba the isle of Hyona, yet Adamnan, an older writer, never speaks of the Pictish, but as a distinct nation, from that to which St Columba belonged, when he lived at Ycolmkill. But this would not have been the case, had the Picts presented him with Hyona. "Whilst "the holy man, St Columba, says he, made some stay in the coun- "try of the Picts—whilst the holy man remained some months in "the Pictish provinces." *Adamnan. vit. Columb.* lib. ii. c. 2.

King Brude, who is said to have given him the island, was yet a heathen, and shut his gates against the saint, when he visited him. *Adamnan. vit. St. Columb.* lib. ii. c. 8. Conal, king of the Scots, received him graciously, before he went to the court of this prince; and it is not probable that he would have been indebted to his enemy for such a bequest. It was in that island that St Columba inaugurated Aidan king of the Scots, who consulted the saint which of his sons would succeed him. *Adamnan. vit. Columb.* lib. iii. c. 5. In the same place, St Columba and his monks prayed for victory to Aidan, their sovereign lord; *Adamnan.* lib. i. c. 9; surely out of contempt for Brude, the king of the Picts, if he was their king and patron. *Adamnan. vit. Columb.* lib. i. c. 8. *Vid. Innes.*

It is also said by the Saxon Chronicle, that Brude king of the Picts presented Columba with the island, which was at that time called Hy, where he became abbot, and erected a monastery, *Saxon. Chronic. ver. Gibson.* p. 21. But it appears from a much more ancient authority, that Hyona was reckoned to be within the Scottish dominions, since a letter was sent by an English prelate, addressed to the Scottish bishops and presbyters; *Bed. H. Ecc.* lib. ii. c. 19; among whom were included Columba, and Segenius, a presbyter, who afterwards presided over that monastery. *Bed. Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 5.

NOTE S.

The poems of Ossian have furnished matter for keen discussion among the learned; and notwithstanding the numerous dissertations which have been written on this subject, the question seems never to have been fairly illustrated, nor set at rest. To say that the poems of Ossian are those of Mr Macpherson, who has translated some of them, is as improbable as it is untrue. Numerous respectable witnesses, aaquainted with the Gaelic, have been produced, who bear testimony, that they were both known, and repeated in the Highlands, by almost every person; and were pretty

faithfully translated from the Gaelic original. *See Dr Blair's Critical Dissertation, and the Report of the Highland Society of Scotland.* The Scottish edition of Ossian's Poems has been judged, from the style and use of the letters, k, w, x, y, z, not to be older than the fourteenth century; *Dr Wood's Dissertation on the Irish*; but we will afterwards see, that the manuscripts were written at a much earlier period.

The learned, but more especially those of England, and the southern parts of Scotland, have roundly maintained, that these poems were originally written by the translator; and those who could not deny their antiquity, affirm that the ancient poems, which have been discovered, agree not with those of the first English version. But it will be found, from the following observations, that the translation is more faithful, when compared with the original, than, from the peculiar nature of the case, could have been expected. The English version of the MS. of Fingal was found to agree with the Gaelic rehearsed by a person well skilled in that language. *In presence of Dr Blair, and Professor Ferguson, Mr Kenneth Macpherson rehearsed the original; Blair's Disser. App.* p. 147; and the faithful translation of a great part of it, is confirmed by other competent judges. *By Alex. Pope, and Lieut. Duncan; vid. Blair's App.* The poem of Cuchullin's chariot has obtained a similar attestation in its favour; *Fingal*, b. i. p. 11. It agrees with the poem as it is delivered from tradition; *Jo. Macdonald, isle of Skye, Martin MacIlvray, Slate, Allan Macaskle, Glenelg, rehearsers, Mr Macleod's Letter to Dr Blair;* although the description is not all given, and falls very far short of the picture in the original Gaelic, for beauty and taste. *Macleod's Letter to Dr Blair.* The battle of Lena, Fingal, book second, *Rev. Dr Macleod's Letter to Dr Blair, and Mr Macleod's Letter*, to the end of the third book; Barbar and Fainasollis, nearly the same as Moire Barb, *Report*, page 48, *Mr Macauley's Letter to Dr Blair;* the fourth book, *Mr Macleod's Letter to Dr Blair;* the story of Everallin, *Dr Macpherson's Letter to Dr Blair;* book fifth to page seventy-fourth, *Dr Macpherson's Letter to Dr Blair, and Mr Macauley's Letter;* and the whole of the epic poem of Fingal—are said to correspond in the translation to the Gaelic original. *The Rev. Mr Macleod of Ross, in a*

Letter to Dr Blair. The editor of the first collection of Gaelic poems, which was published, observes, in a letter to a friend, "that he was lucky enough to lay his hand on a pretty complete "poem, and truly epic, concerning Fingal," *Mr Macpherson's Letter to the Rev. Mr Maclagan,* the original Gaelic of which is said by him to have been delivered to one of his executors. *Mr Mackenzie's marginal notes, written by Mr Macpherson's own hand. See Mr Anderson's Letter to Mr Mackenzie.* But although he himself had several large and ancient manuscripts in his possession, *Ewan Macpherson, Malcolm Macpherson and Lachlan Macvurich's evidence, Mr Macneil's Letter to Dr Blair, Mr Gallie's Letter to Mr Mackenzie, and Mr Macpherson's own Letter to Mr Maclagan,* especially from Clan Ronald, a single manuscript, was the only MS. found by his trustee after his death. *The Report of the Highland Society of Scotland,* p. 80, 8vo.

The fragments of this epic poem, which have been compared with the books of Fingal, a part of the first collection of ancient Gaelic poetry that was published, agree in some circumstances literally, and in many instances nearly. Although the translator has used many liberties, in comparing the different editions of the pieces which he collected, in giving connection to imperfect fragments, and refining sometimes upon a rude original or bad version, and has some additional passages, which are not now to be found, although the poem might be still enlarged, yet it appears to be the work of an ancient bard, and is, on the whole, pretty faithfully translated. The testimony of the learned has also been given to the faithful translation of the poem of Oscar and Malvina; *Mr Campbell, the Rev. Alex. Pope, and Lieut. Duncan. Compare the death of Oscar with the original;*—the death of Gaul, *Highland Society's literal translation from the Gaelic,* p. 62. *Report;*—Ossian's address to the sun, both in Carrickthura and Carthon, *Ibid.* p. 100;—the death of Cuchullin, *see Dr Smith's Manas and Scandana,* p. 262;—the battle of Lora, to page one hundred and eleven;—Darthula or Clame Usnothain, the children of the mist, *see Dr Macpherson's Letter to Dr Blair, and the Rev. Alex. Pope, and Lieut. Duncan's testimony, Blair's Dissert. App. Mr Neil Macleod's Letter, and Mr Macauley's Letter to*

Dr Blair;—the lamentation of the spouse of Dargo, *Dr Macpherson's Letter to Dr Blair, which are all published in the Report of the H. Society*;—Carricthura, *The Rev. Alex. Macauley's Letter to Dr Blair, The Rev. Alex. Pope and Lieut. Duncan's testimony; see Blair's Dissertation and Append. to the Report of the Highland Society*;—Carthon, *Captain Morison's Letter to the Highland Society*;—Lachlego, and a partial account of the war of Inis thona, *The Rev. Donald Macleod's Letter to Dr Blair*;—Lathmon, *Mr Pope's Letter to the Rev. Alex. Nicholson of Thurso, vid. Report*, p. 53, and the poem entitled, Cath Fhinn, Mhanois, *Recitator Colum Read hair, Dr Smith's Letter to Mr Mackenzie.* These poems are all attested to be translations from genuine ancient pieces in Gaelic, which the editor of the first collection of Ossian's poems published; and are said to correspond as exactly with the original, as could have been looked for, from so many fragments, and editions of the same poems.

A part of the first book of Temora, known in Gaelic by the name Bas Oscar, the death of Oscar, is also attested, by several competent witnesses, to agree with the original Gaelic of Ossian. *The Rev. Alex. Pope and Lieut. Duncan; See Blair's App. Dr Smith's Letter to Mr Mackenzie, published in the Report of the Highland Society*, p. 73. The combat between Oscar and Allin, an ancient bard, *Dr Smith's Letter to Dr Blair*; Erragon, known in the North Highlands by the name of Dibirdfli, which is included in Temora, *Mr Pope's Letter to the Rev. Alexander Nicholson*; Fergus the bard, which corresponds with the battle of Gavra, or the death of Oscar in Temora, *Report of the Highland Society*, 106; Temora, from page 172 to the end of page 190, *Mr Macauley's Letter to Dr Blair*; several pieces of the same poem, and part of Lathemon, *The Rev. Alexander Pope and Lieutenant Duncan*; the poem of Ossian, the son of Fingal, and the Maid of Craca, *Report of the Highland Society of Scotland*, p. 92, are also said to agree with the Gaelic original, according to the incontrovertible evidence of these several witnesses. Many are of opinion, that not only the interpretation of these poems, which were delivered *ex tempore*, corresponded very nearly with the English translation, but even with those manuscripts, from which many of them were taken. *Mr Percy*,

in his Preface to the Relics of old English poetry, and Mr Campbell, Dunstaffnage, for oral tradition; Mr And. Gallie, and Mr Fraser, and the Rev. Alexander Macauley in his Letter to Dr Blair, and some individuals, have heard parts of every one of the first collection of Gaelic poems, which were published, repeated in the original. *Captain Macdonald; see Blair's Appendix.*

That Mr M'Pherson was the author of these poems, which is a notion entertained by many learned men, is an opinion which is warranted by no fact. Several individuals accompanied the translator on various parts of his journey, and assisted him to collect, and write out the Gaelic from oral tradition, *Captain Morison, Mr Ewan M'Pherson, through Skye, Uist and Badenoch,* 1759 and 1760, *Mr Donald M'Leod's Letter to Dr Blair, Mr Allan M'Caskie, near Glenely, Alexander M'Pherson, Scalpha. For an account of the reciters of these Gaelic poems, see the Report of the Highland Society;* and others furnished him with manuscripts and fragments of these poems. He received the Red Book or Leabhar Dearg, as it was supposed to be a valuable collection, in Skye, from Mr M'Donald, in Croidart, and from Macvurich, bard to Clanronald, *Dr Wood,* p. 164; *Report of the Highland Society,* p. 81; a hundred pages of a large ancient manuscript on the wars of Fingal, which was afterwards carried over to Ireland, *The Rev. Angus Macneil's Letter to Dr Blair;* Barrathon, and three or four manuscripts in South Uist, *Report, Appen.* p. 20; a piece about the size of an octavo volume, and a sort of common-place book; an order for a Gaelic folio manuscript, although it is uncertain whether he received it, *Normand Macdonald, and A. Macdonald's attestation to the Highland Society, published in their Report,* with many parchments; a poem entitled, Duana Ghairibh, and Teantach morna Feine; and a manuscript as thick as a bible in Inverness-shire; which were collected in Argyle, Perth, Inverness, Caithness, and Sutherland shires, *Appendix to the Report of the Highland Society.* These parchments and manuscripts which belonged to him, amounted to several volumes, *Mr Andrew Gallie's Letter to Charles Macintosh, Esq. Edinburgh, and Captain Morison's Report, Appendix,* p. 176, and were written in different handwritings, *Captain Morison's Let-*

ter to the Highland Society of Scotland; and manuscripts of the same kind, with some of the letters elegantly flourished and illuminated, were seen in his possession by various individuals, *Mr Maclagan of the 42d Regiment, Mr Andrew Gallie in his Letter, Report,* p. 31, *Mr Macneil, Uist, Captain Morison, who also received some from him, together with Dargo, which was not published by Mr Macpherson, see Hugh Macleod's Report, App.* n. 18, which he is said to have rendered into an English version, by means of the assistance and advice of his friends, in some difficult passages, *Captain Morison, Vid. App.* p. 176. *Mr Gallie in his Letter to Charles Macintosh, Edinburgh.* Among these poems were included three Duans of Cathloda, the greater part of Carthon, the whole of Carricthura, Oina, Moral, Colna Dona, Croma, Calthon, Colmal, and Fingal, which were as complete as the translation, *See Mr Macpherson's signature at each of these poems, on the margin of a copy of the first edition, Mr Anderson's Letter to the Highland Society of Scotland, Report,* p. 331; and he acknowledges himself, that he endeavoured to secure the poetical part of them. *Vid. supra.* Such of the poems as have been discovered in manuscripts, including the fragments which were left by the first translator of these poems to his executors, were at length published in the original Gaelic, from these manuscripts in 1807. Together with these were printed a few fragments, which had not then appeared in the original, Caros, Inisthona, Lora, the death of Cuchullin, Darthula, Barathon, Cathlin, and Salmala of Lumin, several of which the editor of the English Ossian acknowledges he had from ancient manuscripts, which are now lost, but are nevertheless attested to be faithful translations for the most part, *Ossian,* p. 169. *Vid. supra.*

Many beautiful poems of Ossian, which were not given to the world in these two collections, are still preserved, some of which, in a detached form, appeared in print. Among these is the poem of Morduth, which is divided into three duans, *Clark's Collection of Gaelic Poetry, and Report of the Highland Society,* p. 49;—the poem of Cath, or the battle of Benedin, one of the most memorable of Fingal's exploits, *Mr Donald Macleod's Letter to Dr Blair, published, as all these letters are, in the Appendix to the Report of the Highland Society;*—Dean Dearmot, or an elegy

on the death of that warrior, *found in Caithness by Mr Pope, see his Letter to Mr Nicholson*;—Bas Fhraoich, the death of Froch, or Albin and the daughter of Mey, *published by Mr Jerome Stone of Dunkeld, in the Scots Magazine. Vid. Appendix to Report*, p. 13.

But many of them have also been found in manuscripts, the greater part of which are of a very early date. The most ancient of these is a vellum manuscript in the Kilbride collection, which was written by Fithil, an attendant of the school on the first of May, in the Cœnobium of Pope Murchius. "The author regrets that there "was not left ink enough, to fill up the last line." *Oidche, bealtne ann a coimhtech mo pupin Muircius a agus as ole, lium nach marium, diol in linesi dom dub Misi Fithil acc furnuidhe na scoile. See the MS. in the possession of the Highland Society.* The characters in which this MS. was written agree precisely with the writing of the eighth century. *Compare the fac simile given by Dr Donald Smith, plate* 1, *figure* 1. *and* 2, *prefixed to the Report of the Highland Society of Scotland on Ossian, and plate* 2, *Ibid. App. p.* 293, *with the specimens of the eighth century, given by Mabillon, De Re Diplomatica, Tab.* v. p. 353, 2*d part and* 2*d specimen, and Tab.* 9. *Mr Astle's* 14*th*, 15*th*, *and* 18*th plate*, p. 103, as well as with the orthography of that period, *u being expressed by bbh or bh, a uniform practice observed from the ninth to he sixteenth century.* The word Pupa or Papa was applied, at one period, in the eastern church, to abbots, priests and presbyters, clerical gradations of rank which were peculiar to the Scottish ecclesiastics in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. *Vid. supra.* Among those presbyters, to whom bishops were sometimes subject, *Bed. H. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 4, it denoted lord or master. *Lhuyd Archæolog. Britan.* tit. ii., *in vocib. Dominus, Magister, et* tit. x. *in voc. ab Papa.* But as the Scots, at least those of Hyona, had fallen in with the Roman usages, in regard to church matters, particularly in their mode of keeping Easter, by the middle of the eighth century, *Beda, Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 23, the denomination of Papa or Pope could hardly be claimed by those presbyters. It was restricted in the eastern empire, to the patriarchs of Alexandria; and the western church had long before that period bestowed it solely upon the Roman Pon-

tiffs, who were called universal Popes in 876. *Carol. Dufresne, Domini Duchange, Glossar. ad Scrip. Med. et Infin. Latinitat. in voc. Papa.* From these observations, it is evident, that Murchius, in whose Cœnobium or College the MS. was written, could not be known by the name of Papa, after the eighth century; and if this abbot be the same as Muredachus, which in Gaelic is pronounced Muirichius or Murchus, *The mutable letters are such as, by the addition of an h, or else by a full point (.) above them, either alter or lose their pronunciation, viz. b, c, d, which are used only in order to disguise the word, Lhuyd Archæolog.* p. 300, a prior of Iona, who died in 777, *anno* 777, *St Muredochus, filius Huagalii, prior Hiensis, obiit, Joan. Colgan, Triad. Thaumaturga*, p. 500, *Lovanii* 1647, the manuscript is to be referred to that period.

The next MS. relating to the Poems of Ossian, was written at Glenmason, in the district of Cowal, 1238. Gleann Masain an Cuigh, la deag doan . . . M h : : : do bhlian Carts aoirse Milc da chead, trichid sa hocht. MS. It consists of a tragical tale, about the three sons of Usnoth, Naos Aine, Ardan, Deardir or Darthula. The poem by Conal, son of Edirskeol, p. 205, *of Mackenzie's MS.*, Fearghas Fili, p. 230, Dyroborb *by Ossian*, p. 200, and a song on the death of Cenlach, by Gilcom or Malcolm, p. 236, are ancient poems, contained in MS., which appears to have been written, from an obituary of the Scottish kings, in 1512. *Duncha mac Doule vic Oyine reywich di sgreyve so a loy—wrow schenchyth mynreig. Dom. millesimo quingint^mo duodecimo. See MS.* This MS. which was written in 1603, contains a tale in prose, concerning Lochlin, and the heroes of Fingal, together with the poem of Gaul, son of Morni. These are all ancient productions found in manuscripts, some of which are very large, and embrace not only many imitations of Ossian, and contemporary bards, but various other ancient poems and descriptions, particularly of the ancient Scottish manners, *Vid. Report, MS. of Ossian.* Those collected by the Maclachlans of Kilbride, are of a later date, and so old as scarcely to be intelligible, *once in the possession of Captain Maclachlan of 55th Regiment.* One of the most ancient of detached pieces of Ossian's poems, is contained in the Bodleian Library; and this poem is said to have been unintelligi-

ble to the principal translator of Ossian's poems himself, *by Mr Price, the librarian.*

It appears, then, that the genuineness of the poems does not depend on oral tradition, since there are manuscripts found of such antiquity. Some of these, which are of a date not so ancient, may have been copied from others, which were of greater antiquity, though now lost. To these manuscripts the bards could have recourse, when any doubt arose, and thus they became in this way the mouths of oral tradition. The poems of Ossian were, as we have seen, preserved by oral tradition, from the time when these almost unintelligible manuscripts were written; the defects of the one poem being made up by the faithful and more copious accounts of the other.

Dargo, which was included in this collection, is found in several versions, *Captain Morison's Letter to Mr Mackenzie, or the Highland Society;* and "the Bed of Gaul," at the conclusion of the poem, entitled, Tannah Ghuil, is also attested to be genuine, *Mr Macdiarmid's Letter to Henry Mackenzie, Esq.* Among these poems, which belong to a very remote period, is the poem of Diarmid, part of Manos, which corresponds, in some instances, with the beautiful poem of Conloch, *Report, App.* p. 120; a portion of Sean Dana, Finan, and Lorma, *Vid. Report, App.* p. 179, 187; together with Fraoch, *App.;* and many more, which agree with those in the collections made by other individuals, *See the Report of the Highland Society of Scotland, passim.* But as the Gaelic originals of this collection, which consisted of eleven poems of Ossian, and three ascribed to the other contemporary bards, are said to have been published in 1787, *see Cæsarotti's Dissertation, Ossian,* vol. iii, *in Gaelic,* p. 343, the sceptical may satisfy their own doubts upon this head. The translator of this second collection of poems enumerates those persons from whom he had received them, by oral recitation, as well as those, who were active in procuring them for him, either in ancient MSS., or from tradition. By comparing the different editions, from the materials thus collected, striking off several parts manifestly spurious, and bringing together some fragments that appeared to have a relation to one another, he reduced them to that form in which they were presented to the public. *Vid. Dr Smith's additional Poems, Gaelic Antiq.*

But there are other means by which we can trace back the Poems of Ossian to a very remote period. The ordinary conversation, and language of the Highlanders, so frequently bear an allusion to the characters and customs mentioned in Ossian, that many of their common sayings and proverbs, are borrowed from his poems. Nothing is more common, as Dr Smith has shewn, when two boys are wrestling, than for their companions to order fair play, by saying, "Let them have the equal "combat of Fingal's heroes," *Cathrom na Feine dhoibh*, * a man of an imperious temper and brutal force, "*swaran*," *Gara mac Hairn*, a peevish ill-natured person; "*Conan duine*," from the natural temper of Ossian's heroes. When the Highlanders would recommend to the powerful, a peaceable and merciful disposition, they announce the battle of Lora, "*Cha tug Fionn riable Blar* "*gun chumha*;" and were it necessary, we might point out many more instances, where the Highlanders have borrowed their common proverbs from Ossian's poems. These are proofs of an unanswerable nature, that the poems of this bard were generally known and recited in the Highlands, a considerable number of centuries back. Besides, in a few centuries, that they could not be generally known in an illiterate age, so as to be repeated by father to son in familiar conversation, the circumstance of some of the peculiar characters therein represented, becoming common proverbs, supposes them older.

Thus far have we been able to trace the poems of Ossian through several ages, as they were delivered by tradition, a mode of preservation which has been urged, not without reason, as one strong objection against *their* antiquity. It has been remarked, *by Mr Pinkerton and others*, that they were originally written about this time, four or five centuries ago. Had we not already proved them to be much more ancient from manuscript, we know that the Highlands at this period were immersed in gross ignorance and barbarism. But if a poet had arisen, of such exquisite feeling, and deep pathos, as Ossian, could he have entirely divested himself of the origin of clans, and the Christian religion, with all the ideas and manners of that age, and given us a just and natural picture of society, more ancient than his own by a thousand years, such as Ossian gives?

* A strong man is often called Cuchullin, Colaidim Cuchullin.

The universal tradition of the Highlands of Scotland, that Fingal, Ossian, and Oscar were at all times reckoned to be of Scottish, and not of Irish origin, *Report of the Highland Society, App.* No. I, and p. 98, goes for nothing, if the poems of Ossian are Irish; nor do the traditions of that country form any objection to this inference, since their principal bard was Fergus, where Patrick is introduced in honour of Erin's saints. Their heroes were not the heroes of Ossian, although by name they were related to that bard. Fingal, who was always victorious, is denominated Fiongal nam Buadh, "Fingal of victories," in an ancient poem, apparently Welsh, which celebrates the exploits of Arthur, the famous British hero, who lived in the fifth century. *Llomarch and Taliessin.* This poem, *vid. Ossian in Gaelic*, vol. iii. p. 250, bears testimony to the existence of such a hero, even at that period, long after his death. Fyn Mac Coul, or Finnanus the son of Caelsus, who was of Scottish descent, and lived in the time of Eugenius II, one of the fabulous race of kings, was supposed to be an ancient giant seven cubits high; *John Barbour, in the poem of Bruce*, 1375, *Hector Boethius, and Bishop Leslie; In "the Palace of Ho-"nour" by Bishop Douglas; "the Interlude of Droichis," in the time of James IV, in Lindsay's Satyre of the Three Estates*, 1538; *and in Colville's Whig Supplication* 1681, *he was called Fyn Mac Coul* 1684, belonging to this country, which was by all these writers hailed as the land of heroes and the giant.

There are, besides, other circumstances, which shew that Ossian's poems were written not only before the Norwegian conquest of the isles; but even before Christianity was known in Scotia. Names of mountains, cities, and rivers are known to remain, when the language itself spoken by those who lived many hundred years before, has become unintelligible. There is hardly a district in the Highlands but has many places, waters, isles, caves, and mountains, which have been called, from time immemorial, after the names of Ossian's heroes, *Smith's Gaelic Antiquities.* In Argyleshire there are many of this description. Near Inverary, there is a place known by the name of Cruach Fhinn, "the hill of Fingal;" in the isle of Skye, Ait suidh Fhinn, "Fingal's seat," Coire Fhinn Mac Coul, "the whirlpool of Fingal, son of Cowhal," *Innis Chonnain, Innis Aildhe, Innis Ravini, Innis Chonnail,* "the

isles of Connan, Aldo, Ryne and Connal," Fedaor Febla. One of the Hebrides, mentioned in the poem of Manos, *Smith's Ossian*, still retains its name to this day. *Smith's Gaelic Antiquities.* Cromgh leann nan clach, the residence of Fingal, is yet pointed out at Glenlyon in Perthshire, where there are many round buildings, formed without mortar or cement, and particularly one which is known by the name of Figh-chrom ghliun nan clach. Adjacent to some of these ruins, there is an erect stone called Conabh dean, or the dog-stake of Bran, according to tradition, " Fingal's celebrated dog," *See the poem on the Death of Bran.* Another long stone of a similar description is sunk in the ground without the centery of Dunsknich in the isle of Skye, on a rock, to which it is said that Cuthullin's dog was tied when he was not engaged in the chase. *Sir John Sinclair's Dissert.* p. 33. vol. i. *Ossian in Gaelic.* Many instances of this kind are given in the notes on the poem of Temora, such as Roscrana, Culallin, and Sulmala. On the side of Glenalmond, Perthshire, there is a small hamlet, known by the name of Fian flicach, or " Fingal's hall," at the west end of Loch Fraoch, in a place called Dailchillin, he is said by tradition to be buried. In the district of Morven, in the county of Argyle, where he frequently resided, Duninn, Fingal's fort or hill, Finnary, Fingal's shieling ; Ken Fein or Clum Fhinn, " Fingal's step or stairs," *Statistical Account*, vol. x. p. 274, are still pointed out, and lead to the top of a hill, called Beineiden, which is mentioned in one of those old poems that are ascribed to Ossian. Clachan Ossian, or the monumental stone of Ossian, measuring seven feet and a half in length, was discovered in that part of Glenalmond, where lofty and impending cliffs make a solemn and almost a perpetual gloom, lying on the top of four grey stones, which contained within the area thus found, a quantity of burnt bones. His monument, if this was the spot where he was buried, is now to be seen on the lofty summit of a sequestered rock, which the Highlanders, who venerated the memory of their bard, removed thence by stealth, when his ashes were disturbed. *Newte's Tour in Scotland*, p. 228. 1791. Within a few miles of this place, the water of Bran, where Ossian sometimes resided, flows in a parallel direction. *See some of these old poems of Ossian.* In the parish of Monivard, " the bard's hill," near this spot, which

is sacred to the memory of him who will never die, there is a cottage called Renua Cardich, the smith's shealing; and the swords of Fingal's followers are said, by unedited poems, to have been made at Lochenlour, within this valley, four miles below. *Newte's Tour, and the original of Ossian's poems in Gaelic*, vol. iii. p. 539. "Crona of the streams," is a small rivulet in that neighbourhood, which discharges its waters into the river Carron. At Sron na huath Bhidh, or "the nose of the cave," in a rock of Glenalmond, "there is a great hollow under ground, where it is said a giant "once resided, who entertained a malicious grudge against Fingal "when he dwelt at Fian Theach," *Newte's Tour through Scotland*, p.228, 230. Thus Ossian and Fingal were, according to tradition, both buried in Glenalmond, since Dall chillin, "Fingal's "burial-place," was situated on the other side of this river, and many places in the vicinity were known by the names of these ancient heroes.

Around Berigonium, or Dunmhic snith each ain, "the fort of "the son of Snitho," in that part of Argyleshire called Upper Loarn, vestiges of extensive buildings, with fragments of the walls, bearing evident marks of fire, are still to be seen. *See Mr Stewart's Topography of Selma.* This place agrees with the description of Selma. *Gaolnan daoine*, p. 200. v. 78, 79; *Carthon*, p. 45. 148. 160; *Carraigthura*, p. 98. 27. 132. v. 509; *Cath loduin, Duan* ii. p. 28. v. 3; *Fingal, Duan* ii. p. 104. v. 41, which appears to be the same with the fall of Taura, v. 43. and 330. Within a few hundred yards of Selma or Berigonium, which was a high place near the sea, and the abode of the Scottish kings; *Carraigthura*, p. 98. v. 27, the tremendous rock of Dunbhaleri or Dun-bhaile-ruithe, "the fort of the town of the king," was situated. The traces of a causeway called the Market street, are still to be seen between the rock and Selma, where the wooden pipes that probably conveyed the water from one hill to the other, at some time posterior to the age of Ossian, were lately found at the depth of five feet. The fall of Eas Laoire or Lara, which was very noisy, *Carthon*, page 152. v. 84. and p. 146. v. 3, and sometimes covered by the sea, *see the manuscript of the Duan of Lesmore*, was hard by Selma, *Fall of Taura*, v. 458. Near the ferry of Coanhoil, "the flood "of Cona," scarcely two miles south of Berigonium, the supposed

Selma, there is a great waterfall or cataract, where Loch Eite falls into the sea, which sometimes swells into a level with the ocean, by means of the rising tide, below the lake. *See Mr Stewart's topography of Selma.* The Fienni fought many battles on the Shabh eas Laire of Ossian, "the heath at the fall of Lora, where "many green hillocks rose high with grey stones and rustling grass," *Carthon*, p. 160, v. 311; and in the same mountain the glen of thieves, is sometimes known by the name of Fian. This black heath or plain, or one which bears a striking resemblance to it, which is full of large cairns, fifty or sixty feet in diameter, extends a mile and a half on the north side of Coanhuill, or the fall of Lora. These facts seem to be so corroborative of one another, that Dun mhic snith eachain, or Berigonium, must either be Selma, the ancient seat of the kings of the Fienni, or they are utterly false and untrue.

Arda, or Ardoch, where the Romans were completely routed and dispersed by the Fingalians; *Tale of Taura*, v. 43; when they carried on a war with that people, *See the Maids of Morven's Song of Triumph, and Carthon*, p. 148, lies about half way between Stirling and Crieff, where the vestiges of the Roman camp are still to be seen. The river Cona, so often mentioned in the poems of Ossian, is situated in the parish of Appin, or Lismore, in the county of Argyle; and Usnoch and his three sons, Naois, Ailli and Ardan, are said by tradition to have been born on the banks of the river Ete, in one of these parishes, where an island is yet known by the name of Elain Usnich. *Statist. Account of the Parish of Appin and Lismore.* The conical rock in Glenetie, which stands at the end of the high hill, retains the name of Grianan Dearduil, "the baking place of Darthu-"la." Near the lake of Lochavich, or Lochluina, its ancient name, was the scene of the Scottish poem, called Cathluina, "the "conflict of Luina;" and within this lake stands the island, where Fraoch was slain by the monster. The river Cona, mentioned in the poem of Fingal, *Duan* i. v. 550, runs through Glenco in Argyleshire; and one of the hills, which environ that valley, is called Scornafena, "the hill of Fingal's people." There is a Glen, or dale, near Glenshee, in Perthshire, which is alluded to in the poem of Dermid, answering "to the vales beside it."

Guil, a place in the same neighbourhood, signifies the "bard's "bed," where Dermid often followed the chase; and Tulach Dhiarmid, "the bed of Dermid," where the hero reposed on the heath.

The very scene in one of the songs of Selma can be traced in a retired and almost inaccessible part of Argyleshire. The island to which the traitor Erath, mentioned in this song, beguiled Dura, still retains his name, Innis Eraith, "the island of Erath."

The ferry and farm contiguous derive from him also their name. Several places within sight are named after Conal and other heroes; and about a mile distant stands a farm, with an extensive heath, bounded by a large mountain stream, and still retaining from that unfortunate lady, the name of Daurain or Dura. *Smith's Gaelic Antiquities.* The names of rivers, and mountains, persons and places, which originated in the Hebrides since the introduction of Christianity, were almost all derived from martyrs, saints, missionaries and monarchs. But in Ossian's poems the names of the Hebrides were always descriptive of something local. With what propriety, then, can it be said, that these descriptive names of rivers, islands, ferries, and mountains, belong to the eleventh or twelfth centuries, seeing that not only the manners, but also the history, which these poems describe, allude, as we shall see, when we come to examine them, to a much earlier period? The names borrowed from Ossian's poems, even if we allow that their author could have possessed himself of histories in the eleventh century, relating to Ireland and Caledonia, which is impossible, when they were founded in some measure upon tradition; still the names of rivers, mountains, and ferries, could never have been taken from these poems, had they been written at this time. The greater part of these names of islands and mountains, which are known at this day, being borrowed from names of saints, and other titles of no known meaning, is a proof that they were not composed in the middle ages. Some of their most ancient descriptive names are even founded upon scenes in Ossian's poems.

The principal objection made to the antiquity of Ossian's poems is the improbability of their being handed down through so many generations; as the ancient language of every country must in

time become obsolete. We have traced most of them up to the sixth, eighth, ninth, and eleventh centuries in ancient MSS., which may be far more ancient, although they cannot be of a later date. Is there any improbability, in supposing, that some of these were taken from others, which are now either lost, or decayed through age? Or rather is it possible, that poems of such acknowledged merit and beauty, seeing that they cannot have been the production of the eighth, ninth or tenth centuries, would never have been committed to writing, or handed down by tradition, when there are other poetical productions in this country of less note, conveyed down by the same means, from the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries? *Vid. supra, the article Poetry.*

Perhaps the strongest argument for the antiquity of these poems is their internal composition. The manners described by Ossian uniformly relate to the hunting state. Pasturage was not indeed wholly unknown at that time; for Dio says, that the Caledonians had both cattle and sheep, *Xiphilin ex Dione,* in the third century. But allusions to these happen very seldom. Of agriculture, cities, and the distinctions of rank, which arose from the establishment of property, and advanced society, we find no traces in Ossian. Every person condescends to the most common menial drudgery. No arts, as Dr Blair has shewn, are mentioned, except those of navigation, and the working of iron, which they may have learned from the Romans, who had founderies in Britain for manufacturing arms, tools, and other utensils; *Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* lib. v. c. 12, *Herodotus,* lib. iii. c. 46; and even from the Scots and Caledonians themselves, who were not ignorant of these improvements; *vid. supra.* The necessaries of life were only known to them as the spoils of the Roman provinces, "the gold of the stranger, the children of the rein," and the Roman emperor, as the "king of the world." The circle of ideas was suitable to this remote age, in which there appeared no diversity of character, inconsistent with the first stage of civilization. But what are deemed the decisive mark of high antiquity, is the circumstance, that few general terms, or abstract ideas, are to be met with in the whole collection of poems. A community, a universe, are words of which they had no notion; a sea, a mountain, a lake, a forest, they explained by simile, and generally particularized

these as " the hill of Cromla, the storm of the sea of Malmor, " the reeds of the lake of Lego, the young pine of Innishunan, " the bow of the showery Lena," *see Blair's Dissertation.* But the personification of time and eternity, virtue and vice, so familiar to poets of our own day, with all the train of modern sentiment, were unknown to the early Celtic bards. To fly with their friends on the clouds, to pursue airy deer, to listen to the praise of the bard, was what they believed would be their chief employment after death,—notions certainly far remote from the creed of a Christian.

It has been said, that the manners of chivalry, gallantry, and knight errantry, fill every page of Ossian, *by Pinkerton*, vol. ii. c. 2. p. 83; and that they shew too much refinement of manners, for the age to which they are referred. Refinement of sentiment, and chasteness of expression, are indeed visible in every stanza of these poems, and beauty breathes throughout; but refinement of manners was unknown to these ancient heroes. To lie on the barren heath, the sport of the warring elements, or to submit to the meanest occupations of servitude, is far remote from all the arts of polished life, however much the fancy of the poet may have wandered amidst the wilds of nature. Valour and bodily strength are admired qualities; beauty and love were as much the burden of the poet's song in ancient, as in modern times. In the days of Homer, to carry away a woman, was enough to raise a whole tribe; and in Scotia, where war was the usual employments of its inhabitants, who wandered over the mountains and the fens, almost in a state of nature, *Amm. Mar.* lib. 20. 27, was any thing less to be expected? When the poems of Homer, which were written 907 years before the birth of Christ, *the Arundelian marbles*, made their first appearance in Greece, under the auspices of Lycurgus, who brought them to Lacedemon, they were found in detached pieces, such as the death of Dolon, the battle of the ships, and Agamemnon, *Elian*, like those of Ossian. Pisistratus, Hipparchus his son, and Solon, were the first who arranged them in a regular order, posterior to the time when Lycurgus had introduced them into Greece, and 407 years after they were written. The Greek language was not a written one, more than the Gaelic, before the time of Homer; and it has been

clearly demonstrated, that Homer himself, who spoke in numbers more easily than others do in prose, *Eustatius*, was ignorant of letters. *See Woord and Merian, principally.* It thus appears, that the poems of Homer owed their preservation as long to tradition as those of Ossian; for before the ninth century the latter were committed to writing. It has been asked, by some of those whose prejudices sometimes prevent them from seeing the truth, especially in a national question like that about Ossian's poems, how it comes to pass, that he omits boars and wolves, so common in Scotland down to the fifteenth century, if he wrote at so early a period? *Mr Pinkerton makes the objection.* In Dargo, one of the fragments of Ossian, which was translated by Dr Smith, we find the boar mentioned several times. "We pursued the "foaming boar; the wild boar relentless came," *Dargo, Gaelic Antiquities*, p. 149; and in Finan and Lorma, "their dreams of "the coming of wolves." These, like all other objections which have yet been brought forward, seem either trivial, or grounded on national prejudice; for the marks of antiquity are too deeply engraven on these poems, to be effaced by any that has yet been advanced.

Though it appears that these poems are very ancient, we have as yet assigned them to no particular period or age. This depends on proofs of a different kind. The book of Temora refers to several historical facts well known. From the second book, it appears that Ireland was possessed by two nations, the Belgæ and the Firbolg; that Conal was chosen king on his arrival in Ulster, amongst the Gael; that Cormac, who succeeded him, would have been overcome by the Firbolg, *Temora*, lib. iii, who came in time to avenge the death of his grandson, and that he was again succeeded by Cairbar. This forms the groundwork of the poem of Temora. In the mean time, Cuchullin was attacked by Swaran, who came from Scandinavia into Ireland, and was by him overcome. But Fingal, a Scottish hero, came over to their assistance; and in this war with Swaran, he, in his turn, vanquished him, which is the subject of the poem of Fingal.

The Lochlyns, "the people of the wave," landed on the coast of Ireland before the middle of the third century, and meditated the conquest of the whole country. *Ossian*, vol. i. p. 16, 26.

About the same time, their piratical squadrons infested the British channel, and made frequent descents upon the opposite coasts. *Eutropius*, lib. ix. c. 21. Fingal fought with the king of Lochlyn, and vanquished him in the field. *The Poem of Fingal.* Swaran was the king of Lochlyn or Scandinavia; but as it has been observed, *Murray, nov. Comment. Societ. Gotten. Got.* 1771, 1774, that the name of Lochlyn was not known in Scotland or Ireland, until the eighth or ninth centuries, it was supposed that Ossian must consequently be a forgery. Conar Mac Mogalama, the same as the Conar mentioned in Ossian, had three sons, who were known by the name of Cairbre or Cairbar, before the middle of the third century. *Kennedy*, p. 104. This period agrees with the invasion of Swaran, king of Lochlyn or Scandinavia, so that the era, in which Ossian flourished, the grandson of Cormac, who died A. D. 220, must be referred to this century. Swaran, the son of Starno, was king of the West Goths; and as he was a suitor of the daughter of Sygtrygg, king of East Gothia, whose cause was espoused by his rival Gram, a Norwegian prince, he laid claim to the East Gothian kingdom, and was consequently engaged in a war with Gram. It appears, that about the same time, he carried on many wars in Ireland, and had hitherto been successful, till he met with Cuchullin, and the renowned Fingal, who took him prisoner. The northern part of these Gothian kingdoms was called Lochlyn, which signifies, "the people of the "wave," *Lucd-Lyn, d being quiescent. Vid. Report on Ossian.* In the Welsh, Gaelic, and Irish language, that part of the country is still known by the same name, as well as the freebooters from the Baltic and north sea, who are at this day called by the Gaelic Scots, and Irish, Lochlynes, the Danes being the black, and the Norwegians the white Lochlynes. *Vid. Suhm. Hist. Denm.* vol. ii. p. 134, vol. vi. p. 165, 168, vol. vii. p. 503, *for the authorities.* From this invasion, the Irish Laighin, in the province of Ulster, may also have been derived, which is a proof of the antiquity of these poems, if it was not the Legenia of Ptolemy. Gram, the rival of Swaran, died A. D. 240, *Tab.* 82, 83, 85, vol. iii. p. 82, 98, 116, vol. viii. p. 10, *Saxo*, p. 6-9. *Eddain Codice Wormiano*, p. 341, 342, *where some verses are found concerning Gram, by Otter, who lived at the court of St Oluf, (Olava).*

Suoro in Ynglica Saga, c. 21; *Vid. Shoning's Hist. Norw.* vol. i. p. 162,—169 *for the authorities regarding Swaran and Gram in general;* so that the era of Ossian must have been about this period, since these several transactions took place before the death of Gram.

Upon the revolt of the Mæatæ, who were joined by the Caledonians, at the conclusion of the war between Severus and that people, Caracella or Caracul, "the son of the king of the world," invaded the mountains of the north in 271, with a view to exterminate the natives. *Dio.* p. 1083. But upon the death of his father, he concluded a peace with that people. Caros, *Ossian*, vol. i. p. 87, or Carausius, who repaired the wall of Agricola, in that neighbourhood, was met by Fingal, *Ossian*, vol. i. p. 87, on the banks of the Carun, *Ossian*, vol. i. p. 92; and as this invasion of "Caros, king of ships," took place in 287, it is one of the many proofs, that Ossian sung, and Fingal fought, in the third century. It may now be asked, how a bard of the thirteenth or eleventh century could have had access to all these histories, relating to Ireland, Caledonia, and Scandinavia, in the middle of the third century, which form the groundwork of the epic poem of Fingal and Temora? Fordun had not yet collected the chronicles relating to the history of Scotland; and had they possessed all those documents, which have been since collected from various nations, it is probable that they could not have been acquainted with the early history of Ireland.

But it has been said that these poems belong to Ireland, and not to Caledonia. In that country, there are preserved, by tradition, poems concerning the heroes of Fion Mac Connal, whom they suppose to have been general of the militia of Ireland; but unluckily for their antiquity, we find shocks of corn overturned by the tempest, enchanted castles, giants and magicians, the invasion of the French, pilgrimages to the holy land, allusions to the union of the kingdoms of Norway and Denmark; nay, Fian devoutly recommends the soul of his grandson to his Redeemer, and alludes to the paternal countries of the heroes of Fion, "the "race of Albany of many friths," however solicitous they were to shew that they were "the sons of Erin of blue steel," *Cath Cabhraor*, "the death of Oscar;" *Duana Gharibh Mac Starnan*,

an imitation of the epic poem of Fingal, with many others referring to the same events as the poems of Ossian. Dr Blair, Dissert. This is surely a proof that the poems of Ossian were written before the time of Christianity; since the Irish, who were so zealous in proving, that Ossian's poems were the production of their own country, failed in describing to the world the manners of the third or fourth century, even when they had a faithful delineation of them in the genuine works of Ossian. There is in these poems no allusion to Christianity; and we rank those Irish poems, which, by referring to the invasion of the French, pilgrimages of the holy land, and the union of Norway and Denmark, betray their own modern origin, with those productions of our own country, which are evidently imitations of Ossian, written posterior to his time.

The poetical sentiment, which breathes throughout the poems of Ossian, in the midst of barbarism, is no substantial objection against their antiquity. Covetousness and effeminacy, to which the decline of poetry has been ascribed, *Longinus, vid. Blair*, were yet unknown. The poetry of the early ages, as well as that of the Eastern nations, although it be wild and irregular, is always the poetry of the heart, and distinguished by tenderness and generous sentiment. The bards, who sung the praises of those who signalized themselves in the field of battle, and who were esteemed sacred, *Ammianus Marcellinus, Strabo*, lib. iv, were held in such high veneration in the time of Ossian, that "Cairbar feared "to stretch his swords to the bards, although his soul was dark;" and it was probably this solicitude of the ancient Scots, to preserve the generous sentiments of the barbarian, that gave birth to poems of such exquisite beauty and taste.

NOTE T.

They appear, indeed, to have been well acquainted with the writings of the fathers of the church, and the ancient manuscripts of the Scriptures. It was observed, by some of the learned of that nation, in the eighth century, that there were eight verses cited

by St Paul, after these words, " Thus it is written, because there " is not a just man," " *sic ita scriptum est, quia non est justus* " *quisquam*," which are neither to be found in any of the Hebrew nor Greek versions. Even the vulgar edition of the Septuagint contained not these words, as they were detached pieces of Scripture, taken from various places of the Old and New Testament, and principally from the Psalms. It was also observed by the same critical commentator, that there was an interpolation in the thirteenth Psalm, from " *sepulchrum patens te scimus autem.*" *Sedulius est explanat. fol. in Bib. p. ad.* tom. vii. p. 494, *vid. Mackenzie;* but whether this critical discovery was original, or whether its author may have consulted St Jerome, who makes the same observation, we shall not pretend to say.

The notions entertained by some of the Scottish ecclesiastics on the continent, regarding Antichrist, were singular. They conceived that he was of Irish extraction, of the tribe of Dan; and that he was born, according to the order of nature, in Babylon. His dominions were to be extended far and wide; and at whatever time he might make his appearance, it was supposed that he would be preceded by Enoch and Elias, as his forerunners; that he would overturn the Roman empire, suffer persecution himself upon the death of his forerunners, after a period of three years and a half, and be at last slain by the angel Michael, armed with the power of Jesus Christ. The last judgment was expected to happen some time after the death of Antichrist; and in the meantime, those whom he had seduced, were suffered for a little to repent. *Rabanus Maurus de vit. morb. Antichrist, tractatus, Opera,* tom. iii, *Antwerp,* 1626, 1627.

NOTE U.

This elaborate piece, consisted of separate letters, arranged opposite one another, in lines of Hexameter verse, to be read from the right hand, which encircled a number of figures or symbols of the cross. Under each of these figures, which were twenty-eight in number, representing our Saviour, angels, apostles, elements,

virtues, cyphers, beatitudes, mystical numbers, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, the verses were copied, and the mystery explained in prose.

THE END.

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